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The Shape of Things

THE SENATE ECONOMY CROWD IS TAKING A new tack. Believing that the Treasury must shortly ask Congress to raise the legal debt limit, Senator Harrison has announced his vociferous opposition. The present law fixes the limit at $45 billion, which, according to the Senator, will be reached by July 1, 1940. This forecast is based on the assumption that the President's budget recommendations will not be substantially curtailed by Congress. But if the appropriations are voted, the Treasury must find the money either from taxes, on which Congress is also the final authority, or from loans. It would therefore seem that the logical action for Mr. Harrison to take would be to persuade his colleagues to reduce appropriations and raise taxes to the point where the budget balanced. But logic is frequently not politics. The Harrison-Garner bloc wants to receive credit for preaching economy without incurring the odium which would follow brutal budget surgery. They hope that by squeezing the President between an irresistible deficit and an immovable debt limit they may force him to undertake the bloody work. Were it not for the devastating effect on the national economy, we could wish Mr. Roosevelt would call this bluff by sending Congress a revised budget reducing expenditure by three or four billions. What a universal howl there would be! How convincingly the Wall Street boys would demonstrate their confidence by frantic dumping of stocks! As a writer for *Barron's*, the financial weekly, says: "It is the conservative axiom, in both business and political worlds, that the No. 1 keystone of confidence would be a balanced budget, but when actual reductions have in the past been contemplated by Roosevelt, as they were late in 1937 and early in 1938, they have been deterred by almost panicky, if usually private, pleas from business itself."

THE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS DISCUSSED editorially on another page of this issue should be a sharp warning to the President that he must exercise the greatest care in picking a successor to Justice Brandeis. A post so imperial in its power calls for a man whose liberalism is firm and whose experience is wide. Among the candi-

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dates mentioned, Senator Schwellenbach has a record of liberalism which as far as our own investigation discloses is unmarred. The same can be said of Lloyd Garrison. Chairman Douglas of the SEC, who is favored by several of the President's closest advisers, is generally considered a liberal but certain reservations must be made. The others are too little known to admit of final judgment. Judge Stephens of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals is under suspicion because of his conservative Democratic backing. Judge Hutcheson of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals has the Strecker decision to his credit and has in general supported the New Deal, but more ought to be known of his decision against the Wagner Act in the Jones and Laughlin case and his ruling upholding the Texas "white primary" law. Dean Wiley B. Rutledge of the Iowa Law School has the reputation in his section of having been a New Dealer before the New Deal, and he has the support of the liberal St. Louis *Star-Times*.

*

CHAIRMAN DOUGLAS IS AN EXPERT ON corporation law and reorganizations. In an article in the *Yale Law Review* for December, 1933, dealing with the federal Securities Act, he advanced much the same arguments for revision and amendment as those put forward at the time by Wall Street. An article on Protective Committees in Railroad Reorganizations in the *Harvard Law Review* of February, 1934, evinces a faith in the readiness of insurance companies and savings banks to fight the influence of railroad bankers in defense of the investor that has been completely exploded by the testimony brought out in the Wheeler investigation. His unexpected failure, of more recent date, to support President Hutchins of Chicago when he resigned as a public trustee of the Stock Exchange because of the way the present "reform" management handled the Whitney case is also disturbing. We wonder how hardy Mr. Douglas's liberalism would prove to be in the cold isolation of the Supreme Court.

*

MR. MORGENTHAU HAD A COMPLETE ANSWER for those Senatorial critics who cross-examined him on the workings of the Stabilization Fund, and he made out a good case for its continuance. Publication of the accounts showed that rumors of the use of the fund for unauthorized purposes, such as the financing of arms shipments, were entirely baseless. We do not feel that the Secretary of the Treasury was on such safe ground in asking for an extension beyond June 30 of the President's power to revalue the dollar. He argued that this power should be retained for use in case other countries devalued their currencies in order to gain trade advantages. There is indeed a risk that the exchange rate of sterling will fall owing to the strain of armament finance and the drag of Britain's adverse balance of payments. But it is doubtful if a further cut in the dollar would meet this situation. Unfortunately the real problems involved were not brought out by Senator Glass, who as Mr. Morgenthau's chief heckler confined himself to rhetorical flourishes about "the degradation of the dollar." On page 293 Keith Hutchison, in a new fortnightly column dealing with financial and economic questions, shows the grave danger of attracting more gold to this country. So long as we attempt to keep step with foreign currencies which for both political and economic reasons are inevitably weaker than our own, we must accept more gold. To devalue again, that is, to increase the dollar price of gold, would only result in an increase of offerings. Failing a lowering of tariffs for the purpose of reducing our "favorable" balance of trade, we would be well advised to achieve the same result by deliberately allowing other countries an exchange advantage.

*

THE IDES OF MARCH—HITLER'S OPEN SEASON for treaty-breaking—are at hand. The air is thick with rumors of coming axis demands for appeasement in Africa, and there are ominous reports of troop movements. Nevertheless, European correspondents report some lifting of the atmosphere of panic so pervasive a month ago, and from Berlin and Rome come hints of dictators in a hesitant mood. They badly need another Munich, but they don't want war. The problem of just how high to pitch their demands is therefore exceedingly delicate. It is not made simpler by the attitude of Poland and the states of Southeastern Europe. These countries, of course, are not openly hostile to the axis—they cannot afford to be—but they are not so impressed with fascist might and right as to be dependable in an emergency. Yet unless Eastern Europe can be counted on, not merely to remain passive in a military sense, but to give active economic support, it is dangerous for the axis to push the Western powers to a point where they might revolt against appeasement and say: "Shut up or put up." Meanwhile there is new evidence of Germany's economic plight. Government contractors are now being paid in non-interest-bearing I. O. U.'s without definite redemption dates. In order to meet bills and pay rolls, they have to use these as collateral for bank loans, but this must lead to further increases in the note issue. Little wonder that Herr Brinkmann, Dr. Schacht's technical successor at the Reichsbank, has had a nervous breakdown manifesting itself in "extraordinary eccentricities." This diagnosis seems almost equally applicable to the state of Germany's finances.

*

THE OVERTHROW OF PREMIER NEGRIN BY A National Defense Council headed by General Segismundo Casado appears, as we go to press, to foreshadow the end of government resistance to the rebellion of General Franco. Despite Casado's formal statement promising a continuation of resistance if decent terms are not obtain-

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able, it is evident that the coup was organized by a group which desires peace at almost any price. It was provoked by Negrin's effort to reorganize the army so as to carry on the struggle until an honorable peace could be made. Even in defeat, Negrin and Julio Alvarez del Vayo, his Foreign Minister, will go down in history among the great men of the present age. Their leadership in the past two years under the most adverse circumstances has set an example of efficiency, firmness, and devotion which the leaders of Spain's sister democracies might profitably have heeded. As a military man of the old school, General Casado may conceivably get better terms from Franco than Negrin could have done. But this is doubtful.

✶

ENGLAND AND FRANCE HAVE FOR REASONS of their own hastened to recognize Franco. Daladier hopes desperately to make friends with the new power on the French border, while Chamberlain is planning certain delicate hi-jacking operations which can only be carried out if he slips his foot in the door before the fascists slam it. The United States is under no such compulsions. Spain is still a nation in arms; foreign invaders are still occupying the country. Thanks to them and to democratic "non-intervention," Franco will doubtless be able to establish his power—if only for the time being. Our government did enough to help France and Britain to help the fascists to help him win. Let us not hasten to crown him before his triumph is complete. In 1873 the United States was the first to recognize the new Spanish Republic; in 1931 it was the last. Mr. Laughlin, then American ambassador, was more concerned with protecting the contract of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company than with the political shift in Spain; Mr. Laughlin, now of the American Union for Nationalist Spain, urged recognition of Franco a few days after the fall of Barcelona. But today we have the Stimson doctrine to which we can tie our policy. We refused to recognize the conquest of Ethiopia and Manchuria; by the same token we can refuse to recognize the conquest of Spain.

✶

IT IS A SIGN OF THE FEVERISH TIMES THAT the election of a pope is hailed with joy by forces that never before dreamed of the Vatican as anything but the inner sanctum of reaction. G. A. Borgese argues elsewhere in this issue that the Holy See can never reconcile itself with the liberal *Weltanschauung*, let alone rescue it from the totalitarian blight now settling down on half of Europe. We do not forget that as papal secretary of state the new Pope was the guiding spirit of the Vatican's support of General Franco, and we admit the philosophic limitations to any pope's support of democracy as we know it. And yet we cannot go all the way with Mr. Borgese in disparaging the importance of Cardinal Pacelli's elevation. For the new Pope has become a symbol. So marked was his opposition to Nazi racial doctrines and his inclination toward the democratic powers that the German and Italian press felt called upon to warn the Sacred College of Cardinals against his election. Nevertheless, he was chosen in less time than it took the college to pick any pope since 1621. Whatever that may mean in the decades in which Mr. Borgese deals, in 1939 it is a stumbling-block in the way of the totalitarian chariot. It is an order to the Catholics of Germany to resist a fanaticism that reduces the Inquisition to mild bigotry by comparison. That will not help Herr Hitler in his next crisis, and to that extent at least the cheering in strange quarters is justified.

✶

ALL INDIA WAS PROFOUNDLY STIRRED BY the hunger strike of Mohandas K. Gandhi in protest against the autocratic rule of Thakore Sahed in the state of Rajkot. It ended after ninety-eight hours with a victory for Gandhi when the Viceroy intervened and undertook to guarantee that the ruler of Rajkot would set up the council Gandhi had demanded. The Viceroy also promised to refer to the Chief Justice of India Gandhi's charge of breach of faith and any further disputes regarding proposed reforms. Until within the past few months Gandhi had opposed intervention in the states' affairs on the ground that the population was not sufficiently awakened to assume the responsibility of self-government. He now regards non-intervention as "cowardice when there is all-around awakening among the people of the states." Thakore Sahed, one of the richest and most reactionary of all the independent Indian rulers, recently went back on his pledge to grant a moderate amount of self-rule in Rajkot. Gandhi's fast was, of course, more than a mere protest against misrule in that one state. It was a supreme effort to arouse the Indian people against the autocracy of the Indian princes, backed by the British Raj.

✶

HAROLD LASKI ARRIVED IN SEATTLE EARLY in January to fill an engagement as visiting lecturer at the University of Washington. Shortly afterward the issue of *The Nation* for January 14 also arrived. It contained an article by Mr. Laski entitled Why I Am a Marxist. At this disclosure the professional patriots of Seattle, aghast but not speechless, sent up their usual protests; the D. A. R. joined the fray, pointing out that Mr. Laski was occupying a chair endowed by a capitalist. It is a pleasure to report that as a result of the publicity Mr. Laski's public lectures have been so crowded that the doors are closed long in advance of the meeting time —the university band plays to brighten the interim of waiting; and bleacher seats on the fire-escapes are regularly occupied. *The Nation* has also profited, the reactionary Seattle *Times* having republished sections of Mr. Laski's article, with a credit line, in order to view them

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with alarm. Lee Paul Sieg, president of the university, has also done his part; for although he helped to destroy academic freedom at the University of Pittsburgh, he has been defending it ably and successfully in the heady air of Seattle. The business community is torn between resentment at a university which pays $5,000 for anti-capitalist lectures and awe for the man who can get it. Mr. Laski, through all the excitement, has kept his seat.

Arms and Isolation

THE Administration's enlarged arms program is encountering but little opposition either from opponents of its foreign policy or from the economy bloc. Only on the question of Guam did these two groups get together, and this is the sole important item in the program which has been discarded. The $500,000,000 Army Supply bill with its provision for a greatly increased air force was passed by the House unanimously and with very little debate. Despite more vocal opposition, arms sentiment in the Senate is equally strong; in fact, the Senate has raised the House's ante by an additional 500 planes. It is clear that whatever we may economize on, it will not be arms. It is equally clear that we intend to face the world with a big stick even though we are at sixes and sevens about how it ought to be used.

In the Senate, debate on the National Defense bill has been prolonged, but only to a small extent has it been directed at the bill itself. Instead there have been discussions about the French airplane contract, the alleged secret diplomacy of the President, the accuracy or inaccuracy of Colonel Lindbergh's reports on German air strength, and, of course, what Washington meant by "foreign entanglements." Despite the expenditure of abundant eloquence it cannot be said there was much clarification of the real issues at stake: Is there a menace to this country sufficient to justify a great expansion in arms? If so, in what quarters is that menace developing, and have we a foreign policy designed to minimize it?

There are some isolationists in the Senate, including Messrs. Nye and Borah, who apparently answer the first question in the negative and therefore have some logic on their side in arguing that we have no interest in what happens in Europe. Nevertheless, their anxiety to prove their point leads them to some extraordinary conclusions. For instance, on February 28 Senator Nye expressed his firm conviction "that Europe is not going to have war this year or next year unless and until one side involved in Europe can have assurance that the United States is going to stand ready to assist them in that war." He went on to explain that the danger was that the democracies, if given hope of American support, would refuse the next demand of the dictators and war would result. This is "munichism" with a vengeance. It amounts to saying that, no matter what the fascist countries demand from Britain and France, we should do nothing which might make them say "no," lest war ensue and this country be dragged into it. We wonder if Mr. Nye would maintain this attitude were Germany to require the cession of Newfoundland or Bermuda. Pressed by Senator Barkley, who suggested that if the field were thus abandoned to fascist bluff it would not be long before "we should be confronted with the same situation," Mr. Nye completely reversed himself. "The democracies," he said, "have ceased their moment of fear . . . and are ready to stand their ground; we have heard the last of the matter unless we are ready now to give encouragement to another rush into war in Europe." We hope Mr. Nye is correct in his second estimation of Anglo-French guts rather than in his first. Recent cables from Europe suggest that there has been some stiffening in London and Paris accompanied by increased hesitation in Berlin and Rome. In all these places the new factor recognized as affecting the situation is the probability of American economic support to the victims of aggression. If there is neither a war nor another Munich this year, the world will be greatly in debt to Mr. Roosevelt.

The Court Reverts

THE Supreme Court seems to be relapsing into its historic role. The decisions interpreting the Wagner Act in the Fansteel, Columbian Enameling, and Sands Manufacturing Company cases force one to conclude that the liberal phase which began under the impact of the President's court plan was merely a strategic retreat. The court has been encouraged by the revival of reaction to serve again as the chief instrument of propertied interests in combating progressive legislation.

The fact that the sitdown strike is involved has served to make one of these decisions, that in the Fansteel case, appear more important than its fellows and also to obscure its real significance. For though we do not share the Pecksniffian horror with which the sitdown strike is regarded, we are ready to admit that if the only effect of this ruling were to bar the sitdown strike we should hardly regard it as calamitous. Congress intended, and until now the courts have agreed, that men on strike are to be regarded as employees, entitled to all the rights and the protection that the Wagner Act gives an employee in his dealings with his employer. "As now construed by the court," Justice Reed objected in dissenting for himself and Justice Black, "the employer may discharge any striker, with or without cause, so long as the discharge is not used to interfere with self-organization or collective bargaining." In the Fansteel case the striking employees were all discharged for taking part in, or helping others to take part in, a sitdown strike. But these

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men could as easily have been discharged for other reasons, thus ridding the company of its obligation under the act to bargain collectively with them and not to subject them to coercion or discrimination for union activities. "Friction easily engendered by labor strife," Justice Reed continued, "may readily give rise to conduct, from nose-thumbing to sabotage, which will give fair occasion for discharge on grounds other than those prohibited by the Labor Act." With a few agents provocateurs on a picket line, an employer can break a strike and destroy a union by discharging the strikers and hiring other men to take their place, with no danger of interference by the Labor Board.

As though that were not enough, other weapons are placed at the employer's disposal by the Sands and the Columbian decisions. If he can find his employees guilty of some breach of contract, even though it be, as in these cases, of the most dubious and technical kind, he can discharge them whether they are on strike or not; they are thus deprived of the protection given them by the Wagner Act. "The act," as Justice Roberts wrote for the majority in the Sands case, "does not prohibit an effective discharge for repudiation by the employee of his agreement, any more than it prohibits such discharge for a tort committed against the employer." The Fansteel decision is cited as authority for the latter part of the statement. What casts the deepest shadow across future decisions is the unwillingness of the majority in both the Sands and the Columbian case to examine realities. If breaches of contract can be so easily established, labor must prepare itself for a terrific onslaught in the courts. In the Sands case there was a lockout rather than a strike over a reasonable difference of opinion in interpreting a contract; the employer rather than the union breached the contract. In the Columbian case the contract did, indeed, provide for arbitration and no strike while a decision was pending. But the employees did not go on strike until after the company had repeatedly refused to arbitrate differences, and accordingly there was no decision pending to bar a strike.

In these decisions the court has made four amendments to the Wagner Act as written by Congress. These "amendments" provide that the courts may review the facts and draw their own inferences from them in Labor Board cases; that strikers forfeit the rights of employees if they are discharged for violence or property damage; that an employer has no obligation under the act if he can show a breach of contract on the part of his employees. These clauses do not appear in the act; provisions embodying them were discussed and rejected by Congress when the law was framed. But the most important "amendment" made by the court is in regard to the right to strike. The act says that nothing in it "shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." Chief Justice Hughes says, "But this recognition of 'the right to strike' plainly contemplates a lawful strike," and these three decisions plainly imply that it is the courts which will decide when a strike is lawful. Judging from these decisions, the court in deciding this question is weighted heavily against labor. The Fansteel case provides the most striking example of the application of the double standard to capital and labor. A company admittedly guilty of the most serious violations of the Wagner Act nevertheless was held to retain the protection of the law against sitdown strikes. But men who had already been punished in the state courts for violating the rights of their employer in a sitdown strike are held to have lost their rights under the Wagner Act, and their employer goes unpunished for his violations of the law. Thus the Supreme Court once more dispenses "even-handed" justice.

The drive against the Wagner Act in Congress seems superfluous after these decisions, for a new conservative majority of six has changed the meaning of the Wagner Act as drastically as if the present campaign to amend it had already come to a successful conclusion. The court, in accordance with a pattern all too familiar in the history of the past two generations, has entered on the task of transforming a law meant to aid the less powerful into a means of oppressing them. The judicial veto is more spectacular, but what one might term the process of judicial erosion is as effective in destroying legislation that does not meet with the court's approval. The court never held utility-rate regulation unconstitutional; it merely made it ineffective by entangling it in the metaphysics of "fair return on fair value." The "rule of reason" emasculated the anti-trust laws without removing them from the statute books. A complacent phrase, "merely declaratory of what is the best practice always," waved away the anti-injunction provisions of the Clayton Act, once also hailed as a Magna Charta of labor. The conception of the illegal strike developed by these new Wagner Act decisions promises to be as fatal to collective-bargaining legislation.

China Is Still Fighting

THE relative quiet on the China front in the past few months has been widely interpreted in this country as evidence that Chinese military resistance was all but crushed by the capture of Canton and Hankow. Japan is assumed to hold virtually the whole of China, having bottled Chiang Kai-shek in a narrow stretch of territory in the far west. The accompanying map shows the inaccuracy of this assumption. Japan's conquests, though important, are restricted to the plains of the northeast quarter of China. Of the eighteen provinces of China proper, only four—Hopei, Shantung, Anhwei, and Kiangsu—have been in large part overrun

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by the Japanese. Five others—Shansi, Hupeh, Chekiang, Kiangsi, and Kwantung—are partly in Japanese hands, but the remaining nine are almost completely free from the invader. And outside of China proper the vast areas of Chinghai, Ninghsia, Sikang, part of Suiyuan, and the whole of Chinese Turkestan and Tibet remain in Chinese hands.

Perhaps the most striking fact made clear by the map is the failure of Japan to make any headway in South and South Central China. In this vast region, stretching from the coast inward for more than a thousand miles and containing some of China's richest agricultural land, Japan has succeeded in seizing only the ports of Canton and Amoy. The remainder, including several important ports, is entirely Chinese. This is not because the Japanese have made no effort to invade this region. As early as last July the main force of the Japanese army launched an offensive against Nanchang, the great pottery city in Central China, which is connected by rail with Changsha. The plan was to capture this city and push against Hankow from the south. The map shows that the Japanese armies are still some miles from Nanchang, having suffered a major setback at Teian. Changsha itself was burned by a panic-stricken general after the fall of Hankow, but is still behind the Chinese lines. The Japanese occupied the city of Hangchow, 100 miles south of Shanghai, on Christmas day, 1937. But in the ensuing fourteen months they have not succeeded in advancing the few additional miles necessary to take the important port city of Ningpo.

It has been frequently pointed out that the Japanese control in the so-called occupied areas rarely runs more than a mile or so on each side of the railways and main highways. What is not generally realized is that Japan has thus far failed to gain control of China's main railways. The two great railway lines of China are the north-south Peiping-Hankow-Canton railroad, and the east-west Haichow-Chengchow-Sian road. Of these, only that small section of the Peiping-Hankow railroad which is north of the Yellow River and a shorter segment near Hankow are operated by the Japanese. The strategic city of Chengchow, where the north-south and east-west railways cross, has held out for more than a year, thanks to the broken Yellow River dikes. Chinese trains run regularly from Paoki, west of Sian, to Chengchow, and thence south nearly halfway to Hankow. Owing to guerrilla activities, the Japanese have never been able to use the eastern part of this railroad between Haichow and Hsüchow, though they are operating the short section between Hsüchow and Kaifeng. Haichow was captured last week. The other east-west line—that between Changsha and Hangchow—remains almost entirely in the possession of China.

A number of Chinese "islands" in the territory nominally occupied by the Japanese will be noted on the map. These are not, as might be supposed, merely districts which the Japanese have neglected to occupy because they are busy elsewhere. They are the bases of guerrilla activity. Each "island" supports a large, active Chinese army which works closely with partisan groups in the Japanese-occupied areas. The northern islands are controlled almost entirely by the Eighth Route Army—Communists who made the famous "long march" in 1935—while the southern are under the banner of the Fourth Route Army, led by Communists who remained in Kiangsi during the long march. The Japanese have launched repeated drives to eliminate these islands, especially in Shansi, and each time have been set back with huge losses.

The possibility of a Chinese counter-attack which would drive Japan from the cities under its control depends in part on the success of the guerrilla units in organizing the Chinese population behind the Japanese lines, and in part on the ability of the Chinese government to develop a strong economic base in the western provinces to support its armies. Recent reports are distinctly encouraging on both counts. Taxes in the occupied areas are still collected by the Chinese government. Szechuan, which is now the military and administrative center of China, is perhaps the country's richest agricultural province. Yunnan, Kansu, Chinghai, Shensi, and Ninghsia are rich in minerals. It is estimated that three-fourths of the industrial equipment of the Hankow area was successfully moved westward before the Japanese occupation. New roads have been built and a gigantic new plan of coolie transport worked out. Economically China is still strong, and in view of the amazing strides which have been made in the past few months under adverse circumstances, there is every reason to believe that it will ultimately regain its lost cities.

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A. F. of L. into G. O. P.

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, March 2

THOUGH expediency and plausibility are on the President's side in his effort to bring peace to the labor movement, it will be no simple welding job to unite the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. The last time it was tried, without success, the sole issue was jurisdictional. Both Green and Lewis were going along with the New Deal. Their organizations, making the most of unprecedented opportunities under the Wagner Act, were gratefully gathering in membership cards. Labor was divided but on the march.

Since then more serious complications have set in. It is no longer merely a matter of who shall organize whom. The cleavage between the parent organization and its offspring goes deep into ideological as well as procedural bedrock. The trend of the C. I. O. has been to the left of the New Deal; it has demanded heavier relief expenditures and larger recovery outlays than those Roosevelt has approved. The A. F. of L., meanwhile, has veered sharply to the right, joining the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce in advocating appeasement of business at the expense of the unemployed.

But for the President's personal intervention and his apparent willingness to serve as mediator, the latest peace project would be hopeless. As it is, there is small chance for more than an armed truce or a superficial reconciliation. If it is the President's idea to save business the annoyances incidental to labor rivalries, he may succeed. If he is trying to unify labor as a political force, for its effect on Congress now and on the election in 1940, he will almost certainly be disappointed. He has come too late.

The ruling clique of the A. F. of L. has already gone over to the Republicans. At its meeting in Miami the Executive Council issued a statement that might have been written by the N. A. M. It deprecated "fear, lack of confidence, and distrust" on the part of business, deplored "various forms of public spending," and recoiled from the idea of maintaining "an army of unemployed as wards of the government." Its essence was well expressed by the headline: "Green Raps New Deal's Recovery and Relief Policy."

Thus the voice of labor became an echo for the lament of big business. The Wolls, Hutchesons, and Freys reverted to type. Always at home in the Hoover camp, they do not usually worry too much about the unemployed and the unorganized. The depth of their concern for the under-dog could have been easily plumbed by anyone who watched them go perfectionist and hold out for a wage-hour bill so inflexible that they knew Congress would not pass it. Now the reaction has set in, and they can abandon such subterfuges. But how can Lewis and the C. I. O., champions of the unskilled and the unemployed, sign on with this crew?

The differences between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. at this stage are best illustrated by the current fight over the proposed amendments to the Wagner Act, a law which has doubled labor-union membership since its passage in 1935. In its reckless courtship of reactionary business, the A. F. of L. has proposed, through Senator Walsh of Massachusetts, a series of amendments that would make this law useless at best and a deadly weapon against labor at worst. The Walsh proposals would assuredly wreck the C. I. O. For the moment they might help the A. F. of L., which industry now regards as a satisfactory substitute for the outlawed company union. But in good time they could and would be used by reactionary employers to smash the A. F. of L. too.

That the Walsh amendments are actually industry's amendments is obvious. Senator Burke of Nebraska has submitted some even more destructive proposals, but no one in or out of Congress is paying much attention to them. They served their purpose when they gave Green a chance to denounce something obviously worse than his own proposed changes. His went so much farther than the Houston convention had authorized that he was secretly called to order by some of the more liberal council members at Miami for betraying the convention mandate. The upshot was an agreement to get behind a new bill.

This new plan calls for repeal of the present Wagner Act and its reenactment with three major changes: (1) substitution of a five-man board for the present three-man board; (2) a requirement that crafts must be certified as the proper bargaining units; and (3) a provision that the board may not nullify labor contracts. These three amendments are enough to destroy the Wagner law, if the Supreme Court, following the election returns in its latest decisions, has not already done so. In the Fansteel case the court accommodatingly pointed the way for labor-baiting employers to avoid their obligations under the Wagner Act by goading strikers into unlawful acts. In the Columbian case it invited federal courts to ignore the board's findings of fact, the same legal device by which the Federal Trade Commission was devitalized

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years ago. Thus the objectives of some, but not all, of the Walsh amendments already have been achieved by judicial fiat.

The drive for abolition and reenactment of the law has one purpose—to get rid of the present board, whose members have incurred the enmity of the federation by insisting upon enforcement without corner-cutting or favoritism. This device would relieve the federation of the embarrassing necessity of going through with its fight against Donald Wakefield Smith, the member who has been most friendly to the crafts. A five-man board might have the additional virtue of providing green pastures for a pair of favored A. F. of L. wheelhorses.

William Green

The craft-union amendment would freeze industrial unionism. But since the formation of the NLRB the federation has asked for recognition of more industrial units than strictly craft units—173 against 84. Frequently it has demanded broader groupings of workers than has the C. I. O. itself. The record clearly shows that vertical unionism versus horizontal unionism is a fake issue so far as the federation is concerned; the sheer necessities of belt-line production have driven it into acceptance of industrial unionism. It has no objection to industrial unionism *per se*, only to control of the new unionism by someone else.

As for the charge so often repeated by the A. F. of L. and its allies that the board has favored the C. I. O., the record shows it is a spurious one. Early in the game the board adopted the so-called "Globe" doctrine: that crafts must be certified as the proper collective-bargaining units in all cases where they have any historical claim to recognition, any substantial membership, and any inclination to be classified separately. As result, in the sixty cases in which there has been a substantial disagreement between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. over the proper unit, the board has found for the federation in twenty-nine cases and for the C. I. O. in twenty-three. In only eleven cases has the board turned down applications for craft-unit classification. In all these cases it had a good reason for deciding as it did, the most common being that a majority of the craftsmen involved wanted to join an industrial union.

The amendment against the invalidation of contracts is the most vicious of the three. Its purpose is to prevent the board from upsetting A. F. of L. contracts where employers have helped the federation to organize their workers in order to head off the C. I. O. Federation leaders want to wangle closed-shop contracts and thus to forestall C. I. O. expansion. Already this has been done in scores of cases, and the board has nullified thirteen contracts which obviously were the products of collusion between the federation and employers. One such C. I. O. contract also has been canceled.

On August 18, 1937, William Green and Lewis G. Hines, now Pennsylvania's Secretary of Labor and Industry, acting for the A. F. of L., signed a "working agreement" with F. D. Coster, late swindling president of McKesson and Robbins, and Frederic Wingersky, for the company. It stipulated that all McKesson and Robbins branches would be placed under local A. F. of L. contracts providing for a work week of not *less* than forty-five hours (one hour above the maximum now permitted by law), that there would be no strikes or lockouts, and that the federation would do "all within its power to prevent imposition upon or interference with business of the employer by any other labor body not affiliated with the federation." A board examiner in Seattle subsequently found that this agreement had been represented to McKesson and Robbins employees as a closed-shop contract. If that wasn't a yellow-dog contract, it was out of the same litter. Yet it would have been inviolate under the proposed amendment.

In the first case of contract nullification by the board, the A. F. of L. was the complainant against the Clinton Cotton Mills. The federation quite properly demanded cancelation of a contract between the mills and their company union. Since then the federation has gone in for a kind of company unionism on its own hook. But if the amendment it now sponsors is adopted, nothing will prevent employers from rushing into contracts with "independent unions" and again freezing out the A. F. of L.

Bert Hayden

John L. Lewis

Trade unionists are growing increasingly restive under the shortsighted leadership that has tried to make them behave like scabs. Already units of thirteen internationals of the A. F. of L., seven state federations, and central bodies of twelve cities—including Omaha, Senator Burke's home town—have gone on record against tinkering with the Wagner Act. This kind of independence at the grass roots holds out some hope for an eventual union with honor between the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. But unless Roosevelt can reach over the heads of federation leaders to rally this sentiment behind a reconciliation that preserves both militant industrial unionism and the fundamentals of the Wagner Act, the price of his peace gesture to business will be high.

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Pius XII and the Axis

BY G. A. BORGESE

I

IN THE near future Pope Pius XII will face, in an atmosphere of dire difficulties, the consequences of the policy of his predecessor. This policy was largely his own. As a church diplomat and as Secretary of State, Eugenio Pacelli specialized in papal relations with Germany and Italy; he led the church to unavoidable retreat and submission under the Fascist threat in 1931, and two years later, that bitter failure notwithstanding, he negotiated an unfortunate concordat with Nazism. The Catholic party in Germany, intentionally democratic or at least anti-totalitarian, was surrendered to Hitler—an error, or a destiny, which Don Sturzo's Popular Catholic Party had experienced in Italy several years before. The events of these last years have obviously convinced the Vatican that a Catholic alliance with the pagan axis is an alliance of lamb and wolf. How and with what results the new Pope may alter the course which the church chose under his predecessor's leadership is a question so gigantic as to discourage any prophet.

In a more or less remote future the strife between the church and the totalitarian states will prove to be an issue involving the relations—theological as well as political—between the Roman church and democracy or liberalism, in other terms, between Catholicism and Protestantism, the latter being unmistakably the background of modern liberal thought. The same is true of the relations between the Italian nation and the papacy.

Many Italians in past centuries have thought and many more think nowadays that the Italians are the people elect, and that it is their task to rule the world through the combined forces of a Roman emperor and a Roman pontiff. It is, however, questionable whether the Catholic world at large would be amenable in the long run to such a theory. The record speed at which the cardinals agreed on electing Pacelli indicates only how alarmed they were by the problems of a more remote future, how eager to postpone them as long as possible, how contented at last with the dilatory expediency of prolonging the pontificate of Pius XI, with all its responsibilities, in the person of Pius XI's closest associate and adviser. Considered from a certain angle this election compares with the vote of confidence bestowed by a parliament on a shaky cabinet whose succession no opposition covets.

But non-Italian candidacies, especially that of the French Canadian Villeneuve, loomed large in the conclave, and the problem of the relations between a strong, national Italy on the one side and a Christian and universal church on the other is now open and can hardly be expected to be solved before many years of struggle and crisis. There is a curious suggestion in the famous prophecy of Saint Malachy, according to which the pope who will succeed Pius XII will be *pastor et nauta,* pastor and sailor. Yet this virtual and already present contrast between Italy as a world power and the church as universality is only one aspect, and a rather superficial one, of the trials which the Roman Catholic church will face in the decades to come.

II

The history and the essence of Roman Catholicism are only understandable if one takes into account the three major defeats which it has suffered in the course of the Christian era, none of which have so far been retrieved. First the Roman church lost the loyalty and obedience of all Eastern Europe. While this rift was enlarging into the Oriental schism, it lost to Mohammedanism all northern Africa plus Asia Minor, Syria, and all the Near East that had been a constituent part of the Roman Empire, of the ancient unity. Finally at the close of the Renaissance the north of Europe became largely Protestant, separating itself from Rome. As a consequence of the latter heresy or separation—until transatlantic countries were able to make up at least partly for the loss—the Roman Catholic church receded to approximately the boundaries that had been those of the western, European part of the Roman Empire.

How the church reacted to these repeated and disastrous defeats is well known. Each time the organism tightened its defensive apparatus; it adopted the technique and the strict discipline of a beleaguered fortress; it enforced an increasingly more absolute obedience while formulating its dogmas with more and more compulsory exactitude. The most famous episode of these tactics of defense, whose purpose was to start again a conquering march on the world whenever it might seem possible, was the Council of Trent immediately after the outbreak of Luther's and Calvin's rebellion.

What happened in the nineteenth century is less familiar to the average cultured mind, especially in Protestant or agnostic countries like the United States, not only because recent events are less easily synthesized, but also because the struggle, which included so much of the contemporary history of these years, happened to be fought almost exclusively on Italian soil over Italian issues which seemed to almost everybody to have only local and temporary significance. Now, however, every-

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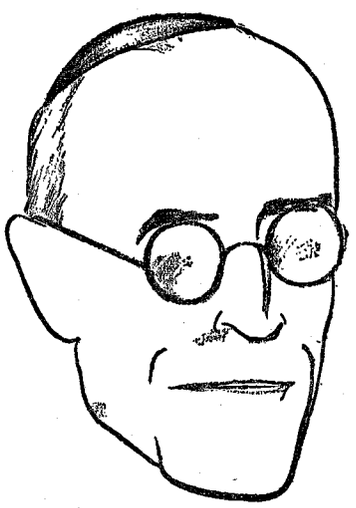
body's attention should be directed to the enormous meaning of the events that took place in Italy and within the Catholic church during the pontificate of Pius IX, from 1846 to 1878. That was the beginning of what should be called, and most probably will be called some day, the second Counter-Reformation, and that was the crisis and the struggle in which were sown many of the seeds which later fructified in Fascism, Nazism, Munich, and after-Munich as far as we can contemplate.

III

At the start of his reign Pius IX believed for a short time in a possible conciliation of Catholicism with liberalism and of the universal church with Italian national feeling. For a few months he was hailed as the leader of the Italian national *risorgimento*. The outcome was irreparable discord between the Pope and the administration of the liberalized Papal State, the Pope's flight and exile, the foundation of the short-lived Roman Republic under the inspiration of Mazzini, the intervention of the French troops, and the return of the ousted Pope, now utterly sobered as to the unnatural and unhistorical alliances which he had envisioned. The interval between the return of Pius IX to Rome and the complete unification of Italy, with the military occupation of Rome by the Piedmontese army and the self-imprisonment of the Curia in the Vatican palaces, was comparatively a very short one—twenty years, from 1850 to 1870. But it was sufficient to start and organize a series of events which now appears to be the most important heritage handed down by the nineteenth century.



George Schreiber
Pius XII

The papacy had become aware that the rational, liberal, scientific trends of European philosophy and politics of that age held for the Catholic church even greater dangers than were contained in the challenge of the Protestant sects three centuries earlier. The defense was magnificently adequate, although at first it seemed to consist of mere words, lacking all power. The church of the sixteenth century had defied the Protestant Reformation with the Council of Trent and the so-called Counter-Reformation; the second Counter-Reformation was started by Pius IX and found expression in two documents—or deeds—which Catholics and non-Catholics alike should know very exactly but which practically nobody at present cares to consult when problems arise concerning the relations between democracy and the church.

These two documents are the "Syllabus of Errors," published in 1864, and the Dogmatic Decrees of the Vatican Council, promulgated in 1870, only a few short weeks before the Italian annexation of the Papal States. Many will remember these dates and titles. But what counts is whether the spirit and words of the documents are present, as they should be, to political and religious minds. It is unquestionable that both the decisions of the council of 1870 and the "Syllabus of Errors" have dogmatic validity. No hierarch, no doctor of the Catholic church, qualifies the obedience that is due to each and all of the teachings and prescriptions of the two documents.

Popularly stated, the gist of the decisions of the council of 1870 is the infallibility of the Pope. It was a compensation for the loss of temporal power, the acquisition of an indisputable and boundless autocratic majesty in the spiritual world as opposed to the impious and possibly temporary triumphs of Protestant liberalism on earth. The One directly inspired by God hovered over the chaos of the many.

The "Syllabus," for its part, listed the errors of modern times which the church refused forever to countenance. It is an error, among seventy-nine others, that "the church ought to tolerate the errors of philosophy, leaving to philosophy the care of their corrections." It is an error that "every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason." It is an error that "men may in any religion find the way of eternal salvation, and obtain eternal salvation." It is an error that "we may entertain at least a well-founded hope for the eternal salvation of all those who are in no manner in the true Church of Christ." It is an error that "Protestantism is nothing more than another form of the same true Christian religion." It is an error that "it appertains to the civil power to define what are the rights and limits with which the church may exercise authority." It is an error that "the church has not the power of availing herself of force, or any direct or indirect temporal power." All the eighty sentences should be learned and memorized by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. But certainly the last is comprehensive enough to give in a few solemn, powerful words the total intention and meaning of the document. It states in unsophisticated Latin as heavy as a tombstone that it is an error to believe that "*Romanus Pontifex potest ac debet cum progressu, cum liberalismo, et cum recenti civilitate sese reconciliare et componere.*" The Pope and modern civilization are proclaimed utterly irreconcilable.

IV

Now it is theoretically and, who knows, perhaps even actually possible that what we call modern civilization, the development of human thought from the Renaissance to the eve of the World War, is doomed and rotten. It is possible that we are at the end of an age and that something new is growing under our tottering steps. It can-

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not even be excluded theoretically that this something new is something old, miraculously revived, made of one heart and one piece, triumphantly aggressive, the church of the Middle Ages, perfected through ordeal and defeat in the final statutes of the despoiled Pontiff Piux IX and his successors. The Encyclical "Pascendi," by which Pius X crushed the resurgent errors of theological modernism, is one of many events in line with the fundamental documents of the second Counter-Reformation. The pontificate of Pius XI seems to have brought the first fruits of revindication. Until a few years ago the church was regularly on the losing side. Under the pontificate of Pius XI it has reconquered at least Italy and Spain, it has spread its influence deep and far in the Western Hemisphere, it has even regained temporal power in Vatican City, ceded to the Papacy by Fascist Italy in the Lateran Treaty of 1929. This is, to be sure, a tiny territory, but it has a very great significance, since it is the intention of the token that counts and not the number of acres or the weight of the bricks.

We have become accustomed to such changes that nothing can now surprise anybody living in this age. Fascism and Nazism would have seemed thoroughly unthinkable twenty years ago, and a prophet of such events as we read about every morning would have seemed fit for a sanatorium. Therefore nothing logically or historically compulsory can be formulated against the hypothesis that the Roman Catholic church, self-defined as the "perfect society," may conquer the entire world. This may happen or not. One thing, however, is certain, even if only one, and that is that a reconciliation between the Roman church and modern civilization—that is, democratic or liberal civilization in the meaning that we give to these words—is utterly impossible and that the very idea of such a compromise has been stifled irretrievably by the church as anathema.

If by democracy one means the belief that all human souls have equal dignity before God, and that each and every human soul, provided that it accepts the rule of salvation as imparted by the Roman church, may attain eternal bliss, then the Catholic church is a perfect democracy. The firmness of its insistence on the inborn and transcendental equality of all men before the judgment of God constitutes one of those most vital and glorious Christian elements which are permanent in the Catholic church, and which make it impossible for even the ugliest and most vulgar anti-clericalism to treat Catholicism as a phenomenon of depravity comparable to such un-Christian and inhuman monstrosities as Fascism and Nazism. But if by democracy, or even, more exactly, by liberalism, one means the right of everybody to think and think freely and to bring his own contribution to the progress of collective human life and to the advancement of knowledge—the concession of equal rights and equal dignity to all religious beliefs—then the talk that we hear so often and so insistently in these days about the Roman church as a mainstay of liberalism, tolerance, and democracy is frivolous, futile, and dangerous, for there is always danger in obscurity and confusion of issues.

As regards the particular relations at the present moment between Roman Catholicism and the totalitarian states in Europe, there cannot remain a decent doubt that the anti-Christian trends of such states, veiled more or less by cleverness and circumstances in Italy, blunt and outrageous in Germany, must displease the Roman church. But such strife between the ecclesiatical and the civil authorities is as old at least as European Christian society, and it may be a delusion to think that even the fight between the church and Hitler is at bottom more substantial than the quarrel between the German emperors of the Middle Ages, such as Frederic Barbarossa, and the Latin popes—unless the fundamental issues, theological as well as political, involved in the relations between Catholicism and liberalism are faced sooner or later by a renovated church. On the other hand it should be quite clear that if the perfect society as represented by the church is embodied in an organism autocratically ruled, the tendency of the church must be to favor the legislative order which is forced on nations by strictly monarchical institutions, and the Catholic mind at large must feel, at least for reasons of analogy, more sympathetic to organisms like Italy and Germany than to democracies swept hither and yon by the emotions and the interests of the changing masses.

With respect to the United States, there seems to be no doubt about the historical correctness of William Haller's study of "The Puritan Background of the First Amendment." "What the founders of the national union did or did not do about religion was of the utmost significance for the success of their enterprise. The assumptions concerning truth and human nature underlying the doctrine of religious liberty—namely, that *truth is most surely discovered when everybody is free to take part in the search of truth* [italics mine] and that it is at least equally as important for every man to think and speak as for some to think correctly and to speak wisely—these notions now seem to most Americans axiomatic." To most Americans, but not to all? Are the Catholics taken as a body among the "most," or are they not?

V

This an issue intrinsic to the development of American Catholicism and to the problems that American Catholics must inevitably face in the near future. The *modus vivendi* seems quite plain, and theoretically it is. In several ways the attention of an increasingly large and increasingly alarmed group has been called to the tendency of many individual Catholics and Catholic organizations in this country to acquire a larger share of power than is due proportionally to them, and to hamper through pressure or other devious ways the effectiveness of those

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very principles of free speech and free thought and free worship to which they owe their prosperity and power in the United States. It ought to be plain that a permanent *modus vivendi*, equally necessary for Catholics and non-Catholics in America, would consist in the liberty for Catholics to be Catholic and in their acknowledgment that all other beliefs or disbeliefs have an equal share in American freedom, which share should not even be curtailed by such invisible but actually oppressive means as pressure, censorship, and boycott.

But clearly enough such an attitude would imply a very substantial concession on the part of Catholics to the spirit of liberalism and democracy and would be virtually and actually in disagreement with the teachings of the "syllabus" and the decisions of the council of 1870, which point unmistakably to the hierocratic system of the Roman church. This aims beyond all renouncement and defeat at a perfect society in which the Pope should be, if not personally the absolute emperor, at least the inspirer and watchman and judge of those who rule the earth.

Whether this immanent contrast between the spirit of Americanism and the system of Catholicism as it has been shaped by history can be evaded by American Catholics or whether the inner split is bound to develop some day into an open crisis is a problem that must be left to Catholics themselves, at least for the time being. But contemplation of history from observatories not befogged by crude and mean passions opens a vista, even if a dim one, into the coming age. It is quite likely that much of this century of ours will be an age of religious upheaval and readjustment, that it will attempt to shape beliefs acceptable to reason and science and liberty, while treating the religious heritage of the past no less piously and devotedly than early and later Christianity treated the Jewish prophetic tradition.

The King Comes to Canada

BY DAVID MARTIN

THAT the motives behind the forthcoming visit of King George VI to America are not entirely social is one of those things that are commonly understood but are left unsaid by everyone with good manners. The fact that this will be the first time in the history of the New World that a British sovereign has set foot on Canadian or American soil is in itself enough to indicate the existence of some extraordinary emergency.

On September 15, at the height of the Czech crisis, Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* said editorially: "Adversity grows good fruits. Today New Zealand promises all her support. Yesterday it was Australia. Tomorrow it will be Canada." That tomorrow, however, never came. Beyond vaporous expressions of attachment Canada refused to commit itself.

British imperialists waxed indignant at what they termed Canada's desertion. On September 20, in an article headlined "Canada Loses Face in Britain," the Toronto *Globe and Mail* presented a review of official British opinion on the Dominion's role in the Czech crisis. Responsible officials, members of Parliament, and newspapermen who were interviewed were almost unanimous in their condemnation. "Britain would not have had to concede so much to Germany if Chamberlain had been able to tell Hitler that the empire was solidly behind him." "How the British feel about Canada's defection constitutes an unpublishable story." Such, in essence, were the comments.

The European crisis put to a test the slender ties that still bind the dominions to the mother country; and in the case of Canada they were found totally inadequate to insure active military support. For years the British government and the Imperial General Staff have been waging a valiant struggle against the centrifugal tendencies threatening the integrity of the empire. The unique idea of having the King and Queen tour Canada is a product of the urgency of the situation. No shrewder method could have been devised for drumming up the flagging Canadian enthusiasm for empire defense. The effect on the public can well be imagined: whole pages in the newspapers devoted to Their Majesties; the population of entire cities turning out to receptions; pageantry without precedent; fervid declarations of loyalty.

But will the King and Queen succeed in their mission? To answer this question we must consider Canada's evolution as a nation and the development of its foreign policy. Unlike Australia and New Zealand, Canada is far from being a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon nation. According to the last census, only 51 per cent of the population is of British descent; almost a third is French Canadian; the rest is largely of Continental stock. Public opinion divides along these ethnological boundaries.

Among the majority of the Anglo-Saxon population love of empire is still strong; if Britain were to become involved in a European war, there can be no doubt that a large number would flock to the banners. This is the only section of the population whose loyalty can be definitely counted on. The citizens of Central European

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origin nurture no particular sympathy for British imperialism. And as for the French Canadians, they are by tradition anti-imperialist and provincial in their outlook. They consider themselves oppressed by the Anglo-Saxons and for this reason tend to sympathize with England's enemies. In the Boer War they were pro-Boer; during the Ethiopian crisis they were pro-Italian; and from the very beginning of the Spanish civil war they have been overwhelmingly pro-Franco. During the Great War the Canadian government met with such determined opposition in the province of Quebec that it was compelled to suspend application of the conscription act. The young *Canadiens* took to the backwoods by the thousands to escape the army; in Easter week of 1918 there were anti-conscription demonstrations in Quebec City that ended in bloody barricade fighting.

Mayor Houde of Montreal created a sensation recently when he stated that "in the event of a war between Britain and Italy the sympathy of the French Canadians would be with Italy." He was denounced by both the French and the English press as an irresponsible, publicity-seeking politician, but his declaration still stands as a simple statement of fact. That the Catholic church and the press disown Houde and plead loyalty to the British Crown cannot be taken as an indication of French Canadian opinion, for when the church pledged the French Canadian people to the support of Britain in 1914, its pledge went entirely unheeded by its adherents. Today French Canadian nationalism has assumed such proportions that it is doubtful whether Canada could take part in another European conflict without danger of civil war.

In view of all this, it can scarcely be said that the sentiment of the people at large provides any encouragement for the British imperialists. Are there then no other bonds, which might draw Canada toward the empire?

Canada's economic and cultural ties with the motherland were sufficiently strong to involve it in both the Boer War and the War of 1914. Even then, however, it was motivated largely by national considerations. (In a letter of his that has recently come to light, Sir Wilfred Laurier, Canada's Premier at the time of the Boer War, explains that while he considered the cause of the Boers to be just, he favored supporting Britain "because of the enormous development which our commerce has undergone in recent years.") Indeed, almost from the time of confederation, Canadian foreign policy has been determined far more by national interests than by servile fealty to the empire. Thus as early as 1876 Premier Sir John A. MacDonald refused official sanction for the dispatch of troops to the Sudan on the ground that "the Suez Canal was no concern of Canada's."

Whereas the British declaration of war in 1914 automatically involved the dominions, the dominions acted as cosigners of the Treaty of Versailles—a recognition of their new status as equal partners in a commonwealth of nations. In 1923 Canada negotiated the Halibut Treaty in its own name—its first diplomatic step unassisted by the mother country. At the Imperial Defense Conference of 1926 a formula was agreed upon which referred to the empire nations as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their external or domestic affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and fully associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The formula stated further that "the military action taken at any time in peace or war is a matter for individual decision on the part of each empire government." This declaration was given legal status by the Statute of Westminster, enacted in 1931.

George VI

Nevertheless there are still certain observers who look upon the studied ambiguity of the conference formula of 1926 with misgiving: they fear that "common allegiance to the British Crown" still implies subordination to Britain in matters of war and peace. They cite the facts that fifteen high-ranking Canadian officers, eight of whom today hold important positions in Ottawa, have attended the Imperial Defense College in England during the ten years of its existence; that the British navy still has the use of the Canadian naval bases at Halifax and Esquimalt; that the Canadian army still employs British army manuals. And they point with especial alarm to the fact that Britain is today developing Canada as a source of military supplies. After all, it must mean something when a commission of British experts headed by Sir Hardman Lever visits Canada and announces that plans have been drafted for the construction of six airplane factories and when it is further revealed that arms orders to the amount of at least $400,000,000 will be forthcoming from Britain. Is Britain going to use this investment in order to bribe Canada to return to active empire membership? Our pacifists and anti-imperialists are disquieted. But they may reassure themselves.

Common military training and the development of Canada as a source of supplies are facts that by themselves prove nothing. Britain's industry is incapable of filling the orders of its armed forces. And there are only two nations to which it can turn for assistance in rearming—Canada and the United States. In the long run it is upon the tremendous machinery of American indus-

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try that it will have to place primary reliance; already 400 bombers costing $25,000,000 have been ordered from the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and the North American Aviation Company. While Britain's armament orders are bound to influence its relations with both Canada and the United States, it can scarcely be said that they provide a guaranty of future military collaboration. In the case of Canada, the best that can be said is that the prospect of $400,000,000 in orders has resulted in an effusion of pro-empire sentiment—which thus far has not transcended the plane of verbal courtesies.

It has been Canada more than any other dominion that has prevented the development of a concerted policy at the various imperial-defense conferences. It was, for example, Canada's intransigent opposition at the conference of 1921 which prevented the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. When, in March of 1936, J. H. Thomas, Britain's Colonial Secretary, indicated that the dominions were still bound to empire defense, Premier King indignantly denied that this was so. When Viscount Ellibank came to Canada in the fall of the same year with the official mission of stirring up enthusiasm for empire unity, Ian Mackenzie, Minister of Defense, said: "I don't think any person ought to come here from another country and tell us what to do." Mackenzie was commended for his stand by Premier Hepburn of Ontario and other prominent Liberals.

If the foregoing is still not sufficient to allay the fears of our isolationists and pacifists, let them listen to Major General J. F. C. Fuller, developer of tank strategy and former assistant to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who speaks with the bluntness of a military man. "We have got to establish a stable Europe and simultaneously a united empire," wrote Fuller in 1936, in "Empire Unity and Defense." "If Canada cannot agree, and so far Canada, in spite of the loyalty of her people, has been the rock upon which every cooperative scheme has foundered, then we should say to her . . . 'We want a united family. . . . But if we cannot accomplish this, in no circumstances will we sacrifice our entire family for our eldest daughter.' It is better to let her go and unite the rest, or even to let some of the rest go and unite what remains over, than to live in a state of sham and pretense."

What has caused Canada to stray so far from the orbit of British influence? Another power, because of its nearness and mass, has greater drawing force in the constellation of nations—the United States of America. Culturally and economically, as well as geographically, Canada stands far closer to the United States than to Britain. Culturally there is no border between Canada and its "good neighbor" to the south. Magazines, books, movies, the radio, an exchange of immigration, mutual invasions by armies of tourists—all these have broken down whatever barriers may once have existed. Economically the two countries really constitute a single natural unit. How heavily Canada depends on the United States is forcefully registered by the following table:

	Total	*United Kingdom*	*United States*	*U.S. Percentage*
Foreign capital invested in Canada (Dec. 31, 1936)	$6,833,700,000	$2,725,100,000	$3,984,400,000	58.3
Canadian capital invested abroad (Dec. 31, 1936)	1,671,500,000	50,500,000	999,500,000	59.8
Exports from Canada (1937)	1,061,200,000	408,000,000	435,000,000	41.0
Imports to Canada (1937)	671,900,000	117,900,000	393,700,000	58.6

These figures provide the real sinews of collaboration in international affairs. It is true that Canada's economic ties with Great Britain are still of imposing magnitude, but there is one other fundamental consideration. With the prospect of war in the Pacific, Canada and the United States have been compelled to enter into the closest military collaboration. An agreement has been concluded for the construction of a military highway from the American border through British Columbia to Alaska. The British Columbia coast is being studded with air bases which appear on the map today as part of a chain of bases stretching from California to the Aleutians. On the occasion of the opening of the Ivy Lea Bridge, President Roosevelt and Premier King pledged themselves to mutual defense in no uncertain terms.

The trade pact recently concluded between Britain, the United States, and Canada, by giving American products freer access to the Canadian market and by curtailing the British preference on Canadian wheat, has served further to alienate Canada from the mother country.

For the time being Britain and the United States appear to be on tolerably friendly terms. But nowhere is it written in the stars that the two great English-speaking democracies are destined to eternal collaboration; on the contrary, the interests of Britain and America clash at many points and the future of their relations is largely contingent on British policy in Europe and Asia. Britain's passivity before the conquest of Manchuria, its role in restraining France, its naval agreement with Germany, its complicity in the rape of Austria and Czechoslovakia—all these events point in the direction of continued British collaboration with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. And as long as Britain travels along this road the possibility of lasting friendship with the United States will seem slim.

So the King is coming to Canada. Will he succeed in persuading Canada to come back home to the empire? The answer would appear to be definitely No. His visit may improve relations between Canada and the mother country, but even this is contingent to a large extent upon the results of his American visit. The question could more properly be put: Will Britain adjust its foreign policy to jibe with the material interests of the United States? The answer lies with the gods and Chamberlain.

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We Still Need a Bill of Rights

BY RAYMOND L. WISE

THE Constitution of the United States requires amendment. It needs a bill of rights.

The first ten amendments are miscalled the "Bill of Rights." Taken literally, they give no guaranty of rights at all. They merely prohibit Congress from passing any law to interfere with the fundamental rights which have always been regarded as essential by free men. Nowhere does our Constitution explicitly require that the various states shall not curtail these rights.

It would be well, therefore, to find out what these rights are, how they came into being, and how they have been interpreted. And it is of vital importance to consider how to write them into our Constitution in such clear and unmistakable fashion that they will be binding on the states as well as on Congress and will endure as long as our form of government endures.

In the early days of civilization there was only one philosophy of sovereignty. The individual belonged to the state, body and soul. The state was supreme. It was usually personified by king or emperor, who ruled by "divine right." Over the centuries another philosophy took shape. The state is the agent of the individual. It exists for his protection and convenience. The individual has inalienable personal rights which are never surrendered to the state.

When our Constitution was adopted in 1787, the philosophy of the freedom of the individual was given great impetus. The colonists had been oppressed by many forms of tyranny. The free exercise of religion had been interfered with, free speech and the press had been suppressed, peaceable assemblies had been dispersed, and the colonists had been denied the right to petition the king for a redress of these and other grievances. They were vital and real grievances—as real as our present-day problems of unemployment and taxation.

When the state governments were formed, the founders were careful to put into each state constitution provisions which would prevent most of these forms of tyranny. But when the Constitutional Convention in 1787 drafted the national Constitution, the only personal rights dealt with were habeas corpus, bills of attainder, and ex post facto laws.

Largely through the eloquence of Patrick Henry of Virginia and others of like mind who supported him, it became clear that the Constitution should be amended so as to make it certain that the newly formed federal government should never have the power to imitate the tyranny of the mother country. Accordingly in 1789 a number of amendments were proposed, and these became the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States. They prohibited Congress from interfering with freedom of press, speech, and worship. They prohibited the federal government from carrying out unlawful searches, demanding excessive bail, imposing cruel and unusual punishment, and depriving any person accused of crime of fair criminal process, such as the right to know the charge, the right to have a trial by jury with the assistance of counsel, and the right to summon witnesses.

Congress was thus prevented from exercising tyranny; but as early as 1833 it was held that a state might pass a law depriving a citizen of that state of any or all of the rights contained in these ten amendments. Even in 1789 there were many who felt that these fundamental rights should be safeguarded against action by the states. But not until the time of the Civil War and the freeing of the slaves did an opportunity arise to accomplish this. The freeing of the slaves required the establishment of constitutional guaranties protecting the new status of the Negro. The occasion presented an opportunity to protect the privileges and immunities of all citizens.

The statements made in 1866 by Thaddeus Stevens, leader of the House, in presenting the Fourteenth Amendment to the House of Representatives and by Senator Howard in submitting it to the Senate show clearly that it was the intention of the Congressional committee which formulated the amendment to make the declaration of organic law found in the first ten amendments binding on the states. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery and involuntary servitude "except as a punishment" for crime, of which "the party shall have been duly convicted." The Fourteenth Amendment defined a new class of citizen. All persons born in the United States or naturalized became "citizens of the United States." No state "shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." The Fifteenth Amendment provided that the right of citizens of the United States to vote should not be denied or abridged by any state "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

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These were the fundamental liberties and civil rights *actually written into the Constitution,* either in the original or in its amendments. But constitutional law, as everyone knows, does not consist solely of what is written into the Constitution. It consists of the provisions of the written Constitution plus the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States interpreting these provisions.

It is clear that the purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to change the state of the law so that all of the fundamental liberties and certainly most if not all of the procedural rights which Congress could not interfere with should be protected against interference by the states. But from the very start the interpretations of the Supreme Court qualified the effect of the Fourteenth Amendment and prevented it from becoming a Bill of Rights binding on the states and the nation.

First, as to the "equal protection of the laws": the Supreme Court held in the civil-rights cases that Congress could not punish wrongs done to Negroes by private individuals. Next, as to the extent and nature of "privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States": in the famous slaughter-house cases, in 1873, the court held that the Fourteenth Amendment did not apply to the fundamental liberties and procedural rights of the first ten amendments, "which belonged to citizens of the states as such." In other words, citizens of the United States had no civil rights as such.

The prohibition against depriving "any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law" has had a long court history. Parallel with the effort of lawyers to read the "Bill of Rights" into the "privileges and immunities" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, other lawyers in other cases from 1868 on contended that the words "liberty" and "property" in the "due process" clause might be construed so as to include *all civil rights* pertaining to the individual, and hence all the rights contained in the "Bill of Rights." This brought about a most curious distortion of the former state of the law and a stretching of the plain meaning of words.

The history of this development is perhaps the most powerful argument in support of the need for a constitutional amendment. For if the Constitution had been properly amended in 1873—after the Supreme Court misunderstood it in the slaughter-house cases—so as to make it clear that the Fourteenth Amendment meant to include the rights contained in the Bill of Rights as part of the "privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," there would have been no need for the amazing legal contortions which ensued. In actual fact the "due process" clause has been stretched beyond recognition to prevent various kinds of state action directed against a multitude of rights, in particular, the property rights of corporations.

The Supreme Court, lacking the clear written word which could have been supplied to it by a new constitutional amendment, has done its humble best in more recent years to bring some civil liberties into the scope of the "due process" clause. From 1925 to 1937 the court has held that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits a state from depriving a defendant of the services of a lawyer and from abridging the freedom of the press, the right of peaceable assembly, or freedom of speech unless there is "a reasonable apprehension of danger to organized government." It is to be noted that the states can interfere with these rights if they do so by "due process of law." But under the First Amendment Congress can make *no* law abridging freedom of religion, of speech, of the press, or of peaceable assembly. The former are qualified rights. The latter are absolute rights. It is also to be noted that interference by a state with freedom of religious worship has not been prohibited. Of course it is probable that if such a case were squarely before it, the court would extend the doctrine and hold that any interference by a state with religious liberty must be by "due process of law."

The net result of the interpretations of the Fourteenth Amendment by the Supreme Court since 1868, though recent decisions have been encouraging, is decidedly unsatisfactory. The precious fundamental liberties and the valuable procedural rights are protected from interference by Congress by the first ten amendments. Some of the fundamental liberties are, according to recent Supreme Court rulings, protected against action by the states. Nearly all of the almost equally valuable procedural rights are *unprotected* against action by the states and may be and have been altered or abolished.

As recently as 1930 it looked as if the democratic theory would prevail in the world. In eight short years the idea of the supremacy of the state over man has gained complete control in nation after nation. And what has happened to "fundamental liberties" in those countries? The very first thing to go was freedom of speech and the press. Criticism must be silenced. Next, freedom of religion went. And the only right of peaceable assembly left is mobilization.

And how about the equally precious procedural rights? What has happened to the right to indictment, information as to the accusation, the right to face one's accuser, a fair trial by an impartial jury, freedom from unlawful searches and from cruel and unusual punishment? Bag and baggage these rights have been taken into "protective custody" and dumped into a concentration camp, along with the other hapless victims.

It won't happen here? Probably not. But in the meantime let us make our democratic processes definitely and unmistakably clear.

The Fourteenth Amendment should be expanded and clarified by a new amendment. This should state that the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States include the rights of freedom of religion, speech, press,

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and assembly. It should declare that due process of law requires, among other things, that the people shall be secure against unreasonable searches; that a person should be accused of crime only by indictment or information; that after the accusation excessive bail should not be required; that the defendant should be entitled to a speedy and public trial by jury (except in cases of minor offenses); that the accused should be informed of the nature of the accusation, be confronted with witnesses against him, have process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and have the assistance of counsel. The accused should not be compelled to be a witness against himself. If he is acquitted he should not again be tried for the same offense, and if convicted he should not be subject to excessive fines or cruel or unusual punishments. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus should not be suspended except when the public safety may require it.

The amendment should provide that no state may make or enforce any law abridging or impairing the fundamental liberties or the other requirements of due process of law. It should further provide that Congress have the power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.

Such an amendment goes no farther than the present trend of Supreme Court decisions in respect to fundamental liberties. It does go farther in respect to procedural rights. Much will be said on both sides on the questions of indictment, self-incrimination, jury trials, and suspension of habeas corpus, but let us at least ask for every protection against oppression by the states that the ten amendments gave us against any tyranny on the part of Congress.

Everybody's Business

HARD FOOD FOR MIDAS

Washington. Treasury stocks of gold amounted to $14,853,876,149 on February 24, an increase of $7,519,000 over the previous day.—*Wall Street Journal*, February 28.

TWO or three times a week little items like this may be found hidden away on the financial pages. Few people notice them; fewer still give them more than a passing thought. Yet with these daily accretions of gold a problem is developing which sooner or later will be forced into the front-page headlines.

In the five years 1934 to 1938, inclusive, the monetary gold stock of this country rose by $7.7 billion, that is, about doubled. Of this huge total the odd $700,000,000 represents the yield of domestic mines: the remaining $7 billion has flowed in from abroad. In the same period gold production in the world at large has each year attained a new record. Every ounce of that production, so laboriously dug out of the earth, has found its way to these shores to be promptly reburied in elaborately constructed vaults. Even so, our appetite for gold has not been satisfied, and in addition we have acquired a round billion from the accumulation of other countries.

Does this golden rain mean a corresponding increase in wealth? There was once, it may be remembered, a King Midas who thought it impossible to have too much gold. When an ironic god offered him the gift of the golden touch, he jumped at the chance. But his joy was short-lived when he found every mouthful of food turning to indigestible metal, every sip of wine solidifying in his throat. Midas soon learned how easy it is to starve in a treasure house; how much better he would have fared had he asked his divine benefactor to bestow fertility on his fields.

The story of Midas has been told for 2,500 years or more as a warning against the sin of avarice. But its economic moral has been neglected. One nation after another in history has sought, vainly, to establish a world corner in gold. Where Rome and Spain failed we appear to be succeeding. We now have nearly 60 per cent of the world's monetary gold and, unless present tendencies are reversed, may within a few years have 80 per cent or more. Is it not about time to inquire into the cause of this flow and into its effects on our economy? Even banking pundits, whose faith in gold as the pivot of the financial system remains intact, are beginning to mutter, like the Scotch preacher whose prayers for rain were all too amply rewarded: "But, Lord, this is downright reedeeculous."

Last fall, when European capitalists, scared by the international situation, were frantically buying dollars, gold shipments to this country reached spectacular heights. The British exchange authorities, faced by a demand for dollars enormously exceeding the demand for sterling, were forced to obtain those dollars by selling gold to America. This illustrates one reason for our accumulation of gold in recent years, but it would be a mistake to think it the sole cause. The Federal Reserve *Bulletin* for February provides an analysis of the gold influx since 1934 which distinguishes three main factors. Net additions to foreign capital holdings in this country account for $2.7 billion. Rather more than half this sum represents funds which have not been invested here but have been held as bank balances or in other liquid forms. This is the so-called "hot money" which is liable to return home quickly if, for instance, a scare starts about the value of the dollar. But some $1.2 billion of foreign capital which has come here in the last five years has been used to purchase American securities—that is, it forms a more or less permanent investment.

Another very important factor in the gold influx is the repatriation of American holdings abroad. In the period under review Americans have liquidated foreign assets to the tune of $1.5 billion. Finally, we must consider the effects of our consistently favorable trade balance. Since 1934 our sales to foreign countries have exceeded our purchases from them by no less than $2.1 billion. Our customers could only fill this gap by shipping gold.

We can now see what we have really exchanged for the bullion which fills our vaults. We have given to foreigners claims on bank deposits, title in the form of securities to a part of our productive machinery, capital assets formerly held by Americans in other countries, and large quantities of cotton, oil, automobiles, and so on. The first item—"hot money"—should perhaps be excluded, since it is, in effect, an immediately realizable claim against our gold stock. But

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the other items constitute wealth in tangible forms. Have we received in return for them something equally tangible?

Of course our gold, though lost to common sight, does play a part in our banking system as backing for the currency. But it is far and away beyond what is necessary for this purpose, even allowing a large margin for a future expansion of business. We could replace every note in circulation by gold coin and still have $8 billion worth of the metal to play with. Clearly the five-year influx cannot be regarded as essential to the maintenance of the currency. To what other uses can we put our gold? It does provide us with a large fund with which to buy additional goods from other countries or to acquire property situated abroad. But our fiscal policy has for long been designed to discourage imports, and whenever they show signs of exceeding exports we begin to get nervous. As for new foreign investments, they have been hindered by legislation (the Johnson Act) and, in any case, are understandably unpopular in the present state of the world.

It would seem, therefore, that while our gold theoretically gives us command over vast purchasing power, in practice we cannot use it for money unless we abandon some cherished policies. Meanwhile, the hoard grows steadily. Every war scare is a stimulant, and if a European conflict does break out, the inflow will become a tidal wave. Thus it is hardly fanciful to imagine a situation arising in which this country would have a statistical corner in the world's gold. What then? The probability is that other countries would be reduced to barter unless, in order to avoid such a return to the primitive, they devised some new international standard of value. In either case we should be left sitting on a mountain of gold worth only what it would fetch for making jewelry or filling teeth. We should be the only customer in the world for the gold in the mines, and if we refused to buy any more, we should find its value, in terms of goods, falling headlong, just as the price of silver collapsed when it was demonetized. The real wealth with which we parted in exchange for gold would be lost forever: the economic system would be profoundly shaken.

Is it not about time that we took steps to check or even reverse the gold influx regardless of vested interests? Or must we gorge this "hard food for Midas" until it chokes us?

KEITH HUTCHISON

In the Wind

THE POSSIBILITY of a "sudden" general election in Great Britain is emphasized by urgent private appeals for funds which the Conservative Party has addressed to its followers. To rank-and-file members it has sent a circular letter; wealthy supporters have received envelopes marked "personal" containing copies of a letter from Neville Chamberlain to the party treasurer. The letter urges financial support of the party to insure continuance of the National government and its "peace" policies. It is dated October 15—the month when Chamberlain was deploring hints that he would try to make "political capital" out of Munich.

EACH SUNDAY throngs of pickets descend on radio station WMCA in New York to protest against that station's barring of Father Coughlin for his anti-Semitic utterances and for refusing to submit an advance script. Catholic newspapers and organizations are backing the protest; among its most vigorous sponsors is Patrick Scanlan's weekly Brooklyn *Tablet*. Back in 1933 Scanlan had occasion to protest against anti-Catholic speeches broadcast by station WMCA. At that time he wrote: "Mr. Rutherford [the speaker in question] belongs in the ranks of Franklin Ford and other bigots whose endeavor it seems is to misrepresent other religions and to spread bigotry. . . . You should either put an end to Mr. Rutherford's racket or else go over his manuscripts before permitting him to speak." In response to such protests WMCA sought to curb Rutherford, and when he—like Coughlin—refused to heed restrictions, he was barred from the air.

IN AN old Copenhagen street there is an officers' house which bears, under an old-fashioned bell-cord, this notice: "Door-bell for the general staff." During last September's crisis this admonition was chalked underneath: "In case of war, please ring three times."

AT A luncheon held in London recently the Chinese ambassador was pressed for a statement on China's prospects. He responded optimistically: "You know that when two boxers fight one tries to get at the other's chin to strike a knock-out blow. China's advantage is that she has no chin."

A STORY about the evicted share-croppers who recently demonstrated along Missouri highways carried this headline in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat:* "Red Linked with Share-croppers; Police to Move Group Urged on by Agitators." Nowhere in the story, notes the *Guild Reporter,* is the word "red" or "communist" or even "radical" used, and the only reference to "agitators" is in a sentence quoting unidentified "landowners" as tracing the demonstrations to "certain agitators."

DESPITE THE projected expansion of the air corps, Negroes will still be barred from enlistment in that service. . . . Reporting a speech by Dr. John H. Finley, the New York *Times* spelled the name of its editor emeritus "Findley" throughout the story. . . . Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has abandoned plans for a film about Spanish refugees on the ground that it wouldn't be entertainment. . . .

THE DU PONT radio program "Cavalcade of America" dramatized the life of Allan Pinkerton, founder of the agency which has of late been chiefly notorious for its strike-breaking deeds. The story ended with the year 1861, five years before Pinkerton went in for strike-breaking. The script for the program, prepared by Barton, Batten, Durstine, and Osborn, announces that "in order not to offend any of the radio audience, we never mention anything to do with war, peace, class struggle, labor, or religion."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

IF I were Stuart Chase and were possessed of his nimble pen I should incorporate myself as a private Book of the Month Club, for the volumes that come from him follow so swiftly one upon another that I am sure turning out one a month would offer no difficulty for him. His latest volume is "The New Western Front" (Harcourt, Brace, $1.50). It is written in his breezy characteristic style and, though but a small volume of 190 pages, is packed full of interesting facts and figures. It is his picture of our situation in this post-Munich era, and like all his books it is most readable and stimulating, even when one must disagree with his conclusions, and occasionally with his facts: it was, for example, not a "wilful twelve" in the Senate that refused to permit President Wilson to put the United States into the League of Nations, but many more than that; the "wilful twelve" voted against the Armed-Ship bill.

As for Mr. Chase's conclusions, the truth is that he leaves us considerably up in the air, but in that respect he does not differ very much from all the others who have been grinding out books upon our desperate situation. He merely urges moderate preparedness and watchful waiting. What commends the book to me so strongly is that a sane and rational tone runs all through it; its author is not stampeded as are so many other writers and public men, who seem to believe that we are in immediate jeopardy when as a matter of fact we cannot possibly be attacked, through the air or on the surface of the water or below it. With the present armament madness guided neither by reason nor by any intelligent consideration of the factors involved, it does my heart good to have Stuart Chase say, after discussing the impossibility of a Japanese attack in the Pacific Ocean: "I apologize for wasting your time in this discussion. It would make an admirable topic for a debate in an insane asylum." A little later he says: "Any way you look at it, a successful invasion of the United States is impossible with any weapons now known, provided we do not have to meet it with our bare hands. We already have a powerful navy, a good air force, an efficient army." I rather doubt the last, although the army has been enormously improved, and there is a great deal of testimony about the inefficiency of the navy and the joint inefficiency of army and navy caused by their failure to cooperate with each other. Perhaps Mr. Chase has had his attention drawn to this fact now that Major General Henry H. Arnold, head of the Army Air Corps, has testified officially that there exists no plan for the joint defense of the United States.

I like Mr. Chase's handling of the colonial question also. He says: "Grabbing territory, enslaving natives, was all very well for Alexander, Attila, Genghis Khan—even for Cecil Rhodes. We have largely progressed beyond that sort of thing today. It is difficult to grow rich by owning colonies which cost more, in administrative and naval expenses, than trading rights can ever return." To him Hitler's drive for colonies and markets seems "pretty silly." "A drive for self-sufficiency," he says, "is understandable, but for commercial empire it is about thirty years too late." As for our home situation, Mr. Chase thinks that if we have surpluses to dump we should dump them at home, where there are plenty of Americans on relief who could use more wheat, cotton goods, and electrical appliances, instead of subsidizing gifts to foreigners and creating angry neighbors by increasing export competition. But he wants the government to take over control of foreign trade, perhaps issuing export licenses for what we need to import, and he thinks that this kind of control is destined to dominate the field of foreign trade all over the world in the years before us.

Next Mr. Chase wants us to initiate a plan for a real League of Nations along the lines of Stephen Raushenbush's "The Final Choice," but he does not want us to go in until England, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and Italy all agree to go in together, and reduce their armies and navies "to the demands of internal riot calls." That seems to me a counsel of perfection. Certainly there is not the slightest chance of this coming to pass until all the nations are much nearer bankruptcy from armament competition than they are today. This is one of the places that make me wish that Mr. Chase had thought more deeply, just as I am sorry that he has put so much reliance upon this country's arming, when armaments, as Eliot Janeway recently pointed out in *Harper's* with reference to England, may open the direct road to fascism. Again, I am disappointed that he accepts the idea that we must rely on protection at this time. The difficulty is that when you put on tariffs even for a temporary emergency you create vested interests more and more difficult to dislodge. The same is true of building up your defense forces. You create thereby another specially privileged class which will keep up the alarums indefinitely rather than be mustered out in any disarmament program. None the less, the book is, as I have said, useful, full of valuable meat, and always entertaining.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

THE Associates in Negro Folk Education have recently issued two small volumes of unusual interest. Both are the work of Sterling Brown, one of the most talented of contemporary Negro writers. The first covers "The Negro in American Fiction," the second "Negro Poetry and Drama."* Together they form a definitive study of the part the Negro has played, both as subject and as creator, in American literature. Both bear witness to exhaustive, and what must have been at times exhausting, research, considering the dull stretches of material Mr. Brown has so conscientiously traversed. Both are designed as textbooks; but thanks to the author's insight and discrimination, as well as his readable style, they also qualify as literary criticism in an important and neglected field.

In "The Negro in American Fiction," Mr. Brown demonstrates how consistently the Negro has been exploited in literature as in every other field. In our early literature he appeared mainly as a subsidiary character, and his portrayal was often as realistic as that of other characters in the fiction of the time. It was when the slavery debate broke out that he became affected with a public interest and his role became that of a "walking argument." From then on he appeared, and continues to appear, according to the point of view of the writer, as one of a variety of stereotypes; as the childlike comic, as the contented slave, as the unhappy freedman, as the tragic octoroon, as the noble savage, as the brute, and, in contemporary times, as the Harlem "creature of joy." "Whether the Negro was human," writes Mr. Brown, "was one of the problems that racked the brains of the cultured Old South. The finally begrudged admission that perhaps he was has remained largely nominal in letters as in life." And even "many authors who are not hostile to the Negro and some who profess friendship still stress a 'peculiar endowment' at the expense of the Negro's basic humanity."

Mr. Brown traces in detail the permutations of the Negro as fictional character; and his study has a double interest in that it provides period-by-period commentary on one of the central social issues of our history. Southern authors have been mainly responsible for the stereotypes into which the character of the Negro has been cast; and the connection between these types and Southern social policy is clear. To justify slavery against the attacks of the abolitionists the Southern novelist invented the happy slave; in the days of Reconstruction the picture of the Negro as brute was set up as an argument against giving him the vote. In this same period nostalgia for the Old South gave rise to another version of the mythological Negro, and the mythological plantation as well. On the other hand the abolitionist writers contributed the picture of the noble savage, the perfect Christian, and the tragic octoroon. Meanwhile, the humorist used the Negro for his own special purposes. Only rarely, as in the character of Jim in "Huckleberry Finn," did the Negro emerge as human being.

In modern times the realistic school has somewhat redressed the balance. Mr. Brown points out that the best portraits of Negroes as human beings in a complex social environment rather than as handy sociological symbols or "props" for interracial melodrama have come from sympathetic white authors. And by a poetic justice many of these have been Southerners. But the Negro as stereotype is still dominant in such best-sellers as "Gone with the Wind."

It should perhaps be said that Mr. Brown nowhere implies that the stereotypes he attacks have no basis in reality. His own view of the Negro is anything but romanticism. His valid objection lies against the novelist become amateur social scientist who turns individual types to the uses of race prejudice and propaganda.

Mr. Brown looks to the Negro novelist for the ultimate full and objective portrayal of his people. His own book, by analyzing so thoroughly the pitfalls that have tripped the writer in this field, makes an important contribution to that end. It need hardly be said that the realistic portrayal of the Negro, who continues to be an involuntary participant in one of the great social and economic dramas of our history, can only improve the quality of the literature which takes that drama for its theme. Marx's statement that "labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded" admits of literary paraphrase. As long as the Negro in American fiction is "branded" with unreality, so long will such fiction remain inferior and false.

J. B. Lippincott of Philadelphia and Hodder and Stoughton of London have announced a new kind of treasure hunt. They are searching for a long first novel in the "fine romantic vein" of Hervey Allen, Daphne du Maurier, Margaret Mitchell, "or even" as the announcement puts it, William Makepeace Thackeray. The rewards are impressive: a prize of $2,500, a free trip to Europe or America depending on the habitat of the winner, and an assured income of $2,500 a year for four years, during which time, to be sure, the author will be expected to produce three more literary *enfants terribles.*

In order that there shall be no mistake about the kind of book desired, the publishers have compiled an elaborate "guide" in five parts. Among other things it informs contestants that they must be able to differentiate between sentimentality, passion, and true romantic love, warns against introspection and the introduction of abnormalities, and specifies a happy ending. The guide makes everything perfectly clear, but it seems to me that it would be even clearer, and the contestants could get down to work quicker, if it were reduced to one sentence, to wit: "J. B. Lippincott and Hodder and Stoughton will give at least $1,000 and a trip abroad to anyone who will produce four 'Anthony Adverses' in four years."

It would be cheap at half the price.

* Each volume 50 cents.

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Correspondents of the London *Spectator* have been submitting answers to the question, What is a gentleman? Harold Nicolson, who contributes a weekly page to the *Spectator*, asked the question, and the most amusing answer so far is the one which defines a gentleman as "one who is never unintentionally offensive." Who has a better one?

Mr. Nicolson's "Studies in Modern Diplomacy," consisting of his "Portrait of a Diplomatist" (which is also a biography of his father, Sir Arthur Nicolson), "Peace-Making, 1919," and "Lord Curzon," have just been reissued in a uniform edition by Harcourt, Brace. (Each volume $2.50.)

In writing of the British and the Egyptian question in the eighties, Mr. Nicolson has this to say:

> British statesmen are usually blind to their own tendencies, but vividly aware of their own disinclinations. While not knowing what they are doing or what they want to do, they realize quite clearly what they do *not* want to do, and they are apt to grasp at this negative, and to proclaim it, in place of the very tiring calculations which any positive policy would entail. This gap between our conscious realization of what we do *not* want to do, and our unconscious realization that in the end we shall have to do it, is inevitably interpreted by foreign observers as indicating hypocrisy or even worse. The mistake our critics make is to state in terms of ethics a problem which is essentially psychological. We can scarcely expect, however, even the most intelligent and forbearing foreigner to regard our handling of the Egyptian question as anything but opportunist in the extreme.

In 1882 the British occupied Egypt after repeated assurances to other powers that they had no intention of acting alone. In 1938 the British surrendered Czechoslovakia to Germany after repeated assurances to other powers, including the victim, that they had no such intention. Mr. Nicolson, as well as recent history, confirms the view of those who operate on the assumption that when Mr. Chamberlain announces solemnly that the British have no intention of partitioning a given country the blueprints are already drawn up. This view has one immediate reward: it makes the daily news from England as fascinating as those new-fangled double-crostics.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Mind of Matthew Arnold

MATTHEW ARNOLD. By Lionel Trilling. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

IT IS understood to be in accordance with Matthew Arnold's wish to have no biography of himself written, that his descendants have maintained careful guard over his private papers. Mr. Trilling admits that he had available only published sources of information. It may be said, however, that if family piety could have made terms with the inevitable it could not have found a biographer of greater intelligence and discretion than Mr. Trilling. He has followed with patient study the development of Arnold's thought from the thin sheaf of poems published in 1849 to the "Last Essays on Church and Religion" and the later "Essays in Criticism." He has written, as he says, a biography of Arnold's mind, and if Arnold had contemplated any record of his life this is the one he would have wished.

Among the many virtues of Mr. Trilling's book a thorough study of Arnold's intellectual background is the first. He has gone to Arnold's sources and influences, to Dr. Thomas Arnold, to Spinoza, to Senancour, to Joubert. He has emphasized the contemporary aspect of Arnold's writings—his emergence as poet when the smoldering ashes of the French Revolution were flaming up in 1848, his entrance upon the field of modern controversy in the middle sixties when "The Origin of Species" shook the gates of revealed religion, when the opposition between the schools of Mill and Carlyle was brought to a focus by the trial of Governor Eyre and the rioting over the Second Reform Bill, when Home Rule for Ireland was beginning to shatter the Liberal Party. The proper way to read Arnold's essays is in the magazines in which he appears in the lists with Carlyle and Newman, Gladstone and Mill, with Kingsley for the Broad Church, Mallock for Catholicism, Frederic Harrison for Comtism, Huxley, Clifford, and Leslie Stephen for science. Mr. Trilling supplies the background which is necessary for the comprehension of Arnold as a prose writer in an age of controversy unmatched since the early seventeenth century.

Although amid the dust and confusion of contemporary conflict Arnold strove to hold himself aloof, above the mêlée, he was nevertheless subject to winds of doctrine. Mr. Trilling makes no effort to attenuate the fallacies in Arnold's thinking. His famous apology for the status quo, drawn from Joubert's maxim, "Force until right is ready," is mere sophistry born of his wish to maintain expansion without revolution. His theory of the dominance of a racial strain, "of blood," prominent in his view of Celtic literature, is bad anthropology, discredited today by ignoble use. His doctrine of the state in which classes should rise above their interests to their "best selves" suggests a mythical concept, likewise discredited. As Mr. Trilling remarks: "Class is a category whose very essence is interest—the reason of a class is its interest."

Above all, Mr. Trilling disposes of Arnold's new version of Christianity by quoting F. H. Bradley's devastating comment on the famous definition of religion as "morality touched by emotion." All morality is touched by emotion, and when it is touched by religious emotion it is religious. This religious emotion gathers about some external reference which Arnold calls God, but his definition of God as "a stream of tendency by which all things fulfil the law of their being" makes little appeal to emotion, and is, moreover, as Mr. Trilling points out, a begging of the question—it is no more than to say "things act as they act."

Arnold's crusade in behalf of religion, like his defense of literature, was the expression of what Mr. Trilling recognizes as the cardinal point in his thought, the pursuit of unity, integrity, totality for the individual and for society. In his preface to the poems of 1853 he took occasion to enforce the principle of classic as opposed to romantic art by comparing a tragedy of Sophocles, in its emphasis on the central theme, with Keats's "Isabella," so remarkable for beautiful detail in which the main action is obscured. The lack of a principle of unity to guide the poet was the source of his dissatisfaction with his own art. Wordsworth had found such a principle in his belief in man's relation to nature, but Arnold felt the dichotomy between the inscrutable ways of

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the cosmos and the values which man's consciousness gives to life. Morality is not found in nature. "Nature is cruel, man is sick of blood," he wrote, and again, with reference to moral striving, "Man must begin where nature ends." This discontent supplied the prevailing emotional color of Arnold's poetry. Harold Nicolson attributes Tennyson's lyrical gift to the emotion of fear—fear of God, fear of death, fear of sex. Mr. Trilling finds the mood which assures Arnold the lyric gift in self-pity. This mood obtains direct expression in many of his poems, such as "The Buried Life" and "Dover Beach," and it is the undertone of others in which the subject is dramatic—"The Scholar Gipsy," "Thyrsis," and Rugby Chapel." To escape from this melancholy, to bring release from it to the world, Arnold thought was the true aim of poetry. What men want is "something to animate and ennoble them—not merely to add zest to their melancholy or grace to their dreams." It was in deference to this judgment that he suppressed for many years the most pessimistic of his poems, "Empedocles on Etna." It was in obedience to it that he turned from poetry to criticism.

Arnold made the great discovery that criticism of art must necessarily depend on criticism of life. Carlyle had anticipated this position in his comparison of German with English criticism, but Arnold made its announcement in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" in such explicit terms that he became for the half-century that preceded the Great War the dominant force in English criticism, which after his example seldom fails to take account of the special and political determination of literature. Criticism of life he declared to be the function of literature, of poetry. In the chief doctrine of his applied criticism he emphasized his objective of totality. Culture, the remedy for present discontents, he defined as the pursuit of one's *total* perfection, by getting to know the best that has been thought and said in the world. It was in recognition of this principle of totality that culture for Arnold became a social doctrine.

The papers which made up "Culture and Anarchy" were written with reference to the social disorders of the late sixties, as was Carlyle's "Past and Present" with reference to those of the forties. But Arnold's social doctrine was the reverse of Carlyle's dependence for salvation on the hero. Already he had written to Clough: "I am more and more convinced that the world tends to become more comfortable for the mass, and more uncomfortable for those of any natural gift or distinction—and it is well perhaps that it should be so—for hitherto the gifted have astonished and delighted the world, but not trained or inspired or in any way changed it." In this acceptance of democracy Arnold perceived the overwhelming importance of ideas, response to which is the only ground for human advance. It was the function of literature to make ideas prevail in a democracy; hence the value which he attributed to literature over science in education. He opposed the individualism of the Liberals no less than that of Carlyle. Freedom, the fetish of the Liberal Party, was to him merely machinery, depending for its value on its results. "It is a very great thing to be able to think as you like, but after all an important question remains: what you think."

With all his assertion of integrity and totality Arnold was far from absolutism of thought. In one of his ironical quotations he cited Frederic Harrison's objection, that he lacked "a philosophy with coherent, interdependent, subordinate, and derivative principles." Mr. Trilling finds frequent parallelism between his attitude and that of the pragmatists. His defense of belief in God is on the lines of William James's "The Will to Believe," and like John Dewey he insists that things must be taken for consideration in the complexity of their relations, not in the simplification which logic requires.

The chief of Arnold's contributions to modern thought sprang from the combination of practical sense with reason, a bias toward relativity, a sense of emphasis according to the needs of the age. Thus with his recognition that conduct is three-fourths of life, and that Hebraism is concerned with "strictness of conscience," he asserted the present need of his countrymen for Hellenism, or "spontaneity of consciousness." Again, in his recommendation of the state as an authority he admits that the French have the idea in excess, the English not sufficiently. He anticipated present-day social thought in seeing that private property was the great obstacle to social wealth, but he saw that this obstacle was one erected by law and limited to it. Indeed, in his sympathetic anticipation of social transformation and recognition of tendencies toward it he was almost the only notable Englishman of his class to view the Paris Commune of 1871 with anything short of horror. "Paris does not make me so angry," he wrote, "as it does many people, because I do not think well enough of Thiers and the French upper class generally to think it very important that they should win. What is certain is that all the seriousness, clear-mindedness, and settled purpose is hitherto on the side of the Reds."

Mr. Trilling is sure that Arnold never read Marx, and he does not attempt to work Arnold's ideas into Marxist formulas. What is much more important, he shows, with an art which conceals design (if any), that in his view of history, literature, and politics Arnold is in line with the thought that is replacing the liberalism of the nineteenth century with the socialism through which alone democracy can survive.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Democrat in Berlin

THROUGH EMBASSY EYES. By Martha Dodd. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

TO begin with, nothing here is seen "through embassy eyes," nothing is heard through embassy ears, nothing is thought by an embassy brain—and that is perhaps the best thing about this refreshingly undiplomatic book. Martha Dodd, daughter of the former American ambassador to Berlin, meets us at the beginning of the story as a typical American girl—intelligent, curious, sincere, still flexible, still impressionable, but already searching for knowledge and a definite goal. In the course of the narrative we see this young person developing, and as she endeavors to conjure up for us the people and scenes of the Third Reich, she herself comes alive—unprejudiced and thoughtful, saucy and companionable, ready to help, eager to discipline herself through freedom and to make fruitful for herself and others the incredible situation in which she suddenly found herself.

The family of William E. Dodd, a professor of history, is enjoying a modest, retired, and industrious vacation on a

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small farm in Virginia when the father is appointed ambassador of the United States to Germany. Professor Dodd has never been a diplomat, but he knows history—the history of the country to which he is being sent as intimately as that of the nation he represents. He has studied in Germany and received his doctor's degree there; he loves Germany—its civilization, its people, its language. At home he is valued as a clever and upright man, a prominent Democrat. Roosevelt, who wants to meet the new Germany in a new way, sends a human being to Berlin, not a diplomat.

At first young Martha thinks Berlin is splendid; and her father, who does not recognize in the Third Reich the Germany of his youth, speaks in a joking but worried way of his "Nazi child." In all sincerity she tries to feel at home in the dictatorship; she looks about her, she makes inquiries, she learns. There is much to learn all at once; things stand in strange opposition to each other. She learns in the school of diplomatic social life and in the school of the Nazi terror. She learns that it is quite impossible—it is simply not allowed—to leave an evening party before eleven o'clock, or to depart from the rigid seating arrangement prescribed by the "Protocol." At the same time she learns that it is neither impossible nor forbidden to break international treaties, to throw hundreds of thousands of men into concentration camps without trial, and to transform all Germany into one big prison in which the vicious and the sick keep the watch.

She learns. And although she learns little that we did not know, little that would have escaped an alert newspaper reader, her sincere, childlike, conscientious presentation of events gives us a good picture. The conclusions she draws are often amazingly correct. And her portraits live. The Nazi rulers pass before us: Hitler—an amorphous, inhuman, amoral, hysterical figure; Göring, fat and red, but a splendid host; little Goebbels, who sparkles with "irresistible gaiety" and has such a "soft voice" that one cannot believe the horrors one knows he has instigated; Schacht and Rosenberg, Ribbentrop and Papen, Hanfstängl and Neurath, and the other great men of the Third Reich, some now overthrown, some still in power. They smile and bow on the parquetry floors of the American embassy. The diplomatic corps smiles also, and the representatives of the great European democracies bow—they do not come off too well in the sketches of the young and impudent Martha. Against this background the father, who according to the daughter presents the "rare spectacle of an informal and idealistic ambassador," appears like a man before a row of life-sized marionettes. He is struggling with a problem which he soon recognizes as insoluble. On what plane shall he, the representative of a free democratic nation, meet the crafty terror which sees a plot when the democrat would like to negotiate, which plans extortion when the democrat believes in honorable transactions, which practices violence when the democrat dreams of justice?

After the terrible events of June 30, 1934, Miss Dodd suddenly decides to fly to Russia. She spends a month there and comes "home," to Berlin, full of most encouraging impressions. Her childlike self-confidence admits no doubt about the authenticity of such impressions. She might have said to herself that you cannot learn the truth about Russia when you do not know the language and for four weeks are led about by a government official; she might have remembered, too, that she was at first all enthusiasm for Nazi Germany. She fails to do so and pronounces judgment, but this judgment is based less on subjective impressions than on simple truths—the truth of the fundamental difference between Soviet and Nazi aims, even if the methods used are similar, and the other truth that the general situation in Russia is not comparable with that in Germany. In Russia government is for the people, not against the people as in simple truth it is in Germany. The standard of living has fallen under Hitler, while it has risen in the Soviet Union. Russia shows no sign of intending military aggression against the world, while fascism threatens to stick Europe in its pocket. Meanwhile, the atmosphere in Germany is filled with fears as with bacilli—the people's fear of their rulers, the rulers' fear of one another. Trembling persecutors and quivering victims, unhappy tyrants and a despairing people! Even the house of the foreign diplomat teems with hidden microphones and spying servants. William E. Dodd, who soon does not conceal his abhorrence of the regime, has reason to be especially on his guard; the American family lives as if on an island, with the waves of the terror breaking around them.

After four years and a half the father resigns, but he had really resigned long before. The knowledge that Germany is spoiled for peaceful intercourse with civilized humanity as long as Hitler is master there, that Hitler's desires are boundless and his methods thoroughly unacceptable, fills the brain and heart of the democratic Professor Dodd while Ambassador Dodd takes his leave. They go back to America, the richer for a great if bitter experience, but poorer by, oh, so much. The mother dies. Four years and a half in Nazi Germany have literally broken her heart; the gay and charming woman whom the daughter describes with so much tenderness has reached the end of her strength as her husband finally brings her home to freedom. And where is that saucy young person Martha, the "Nazi child" who at the beginning of the story went out to seek adventure? In the poisonous hothouse atmosphere of the Third Reich four years are like twenty, and it is an earnest, understanding woman, knowing life in all its wretchedness, who here undertakes to speak out about the unspeakable, to portray what cannot be portrayed. In conclusion, the young Martha (I have a sisterly feeling for her, for six years of exile are also like twenty years) makes a confession of faith—which is also mine—faith in a just freedom and in the struggle against dishonorable barbarism.

ERIKA MANN

A Happy Eternity

THE MIRACLE OF HAWORTH. A BRONTE STUDY. By W. Bertram White. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

"A LITTLE credulity," said the first of the Brontë biographers, "helps one on through life very smoothly," and some of Mrs. Gaskell's heirs have both practiced and banked on this. With at least four Brontës of talent, the life of each turning closely upon all the others, what indeed cannot be done? Brontë combinations and permutations are almost infinite, and irresistible. Which one of them wrote "Wuthering Heights," or rather which did not? What

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are the relations of Charlotte to Arthur Nicholls, George Smith, and Branwell, of Branwell to Mrs. Robinson and Anne Brontë, of Anne to Emily, of Emily to William Weightman, Branwell, and Charlotte? Was the Reverend Patrick Brontë himself fool, ogre, or genius? Did he live for or on his children? Such matters as these are the common fare of the Brontë specialists, and no wonder some of them, dwelling in the midst of keys, clues, and inklings, habitués of the devious, have invoked the improbable, confident that the Brontës, like Wordsworth's Nature, never did betray the heart that loved them.

Little daunted by such complexities, Mr. White has set out to make an end of them, to write a straightforward, conscientious, and sympathetic account of Haworth parsonage. Such a purpose is praiseworthy and courageous, yet I am afraid "The Miracle of Haworth" is marked by daring more than divination. In common with a larger humanity, Mr. White solves his problems chiefly by ignoring them. Sweeping away much of the bad theorizing of previous Brontë studies, he disposes also of most of the good. "The Miracle of Haworth," indeed, guards the Brontës from the unwelcome advances of their critics with the same sort of jealous love that Madame Héger utilized to protect her professor from the advances of Charlotte herself. Coming, in brief, at the end of a long tradition of Brontë commentators, including the valuable studies of Shorter, May Sinclair, Virginia Woolf, and E. F. Benson, Mr. White completes the arc and returns, almost as though no years had passed and no gains had been made in our psychological perceptions, to the tone of Mrs. Gaskell. Yet "The Miracle of Haworth" is simply another of those hortatory documents which the Victorian celebrities, for reasons I cannot always see, draw to themselves. Why should it be characteristic of Mr. White's book that what is tolerable in its fellows becomes so unfortunate in it?

Perhaps it is because the Brontës, even more than the unhappy Dickens, the morose Carlyle, the tormented Butler, reveal so sharply the moral sickness of their era. For the Brontës, in their years but especially in their spiritual lives, were closer to that state of being which seemed to draw down the special wrath of Victorian society—youth. This history of their childhood, surrounded by solemnity and disease, from which the imprint of the Victorian morality crushed whatever pleasures might have remained; this picture of the Brontë children forced by their father's vision of their genius, a vision more like a threat, into a dreadful maturity—is there anything very inspiring in such a chronicle? "Tell me," says the Reverend Brontë to his daughters; "What is the best mode of spending one's time?" "By laying it out in preparation," says Maria, aged ten, "for a happy eternity." Were Charlotte and Emily also preparing for their happy eternity—shy, nervous, precocious children as they were, taking refuge in the story-telling which was to be their only fruitful adjustment to life; these virginal young women revealing to a shocked society a passion as intense as it was aimless, and one which, afraid of human response, sought as its sure object the printed page? "Out of travail," says Mr. White, "a soul is born," but he does not specify what sort of soul. Perhaps the Miracle of Haworth is not that the Brontë children lived so beautifully, but that they managed to live at all.

MAXWELL GEISMAR

Lustier Than Life

HANNIBAL HOOKER. By William Harlan Hale. Random House. $2.50.

"HANNIBAL HOOKER" is rich in history, brilliant in dialogue, a lustier chunk of life than anything you'll be likely to be living yourself. It is a true carnival for the spirit. But if you are a literary critic, your canons will be outraged.

The hero, who gives the book its title, is the son of a small-town banker and a pious mother in Waynesboro, Indiana. He is sent to a theological seminary in Boston. Here he makes two lifelong friends—Saulpaugh, whose mentality is Anglo-Catholic, and Limbach, a Shavian character of wit and learning. The conversations of these three recur throughout the long novel, punctuating the adventures. In themselves they are brilliant; and aside from their intrinsic value they supply a much-needed integration to the novel, a Greek chorus linking the separate stories. This link should have been supplied by the evolution of the hero, but it is not. The character of the hero does change, but except in the case of his dramatic break with the suburban church, the reader cannot tell why. From that point on, a certain chaos comes over the novel.

Now if "Hannibal Hooker" were truly "picaresque," as the publishers and even the writer seem to think, there would be no need for integration of the symphonic type. No one asks a Hervey Allen to keep score. We could blithely follow Hannibal through his first pastorship, his escape to Haiti and involvement in a comic Caribbean revolution, his work for pacifism just before the Great War, his adventures as a correspondent in Europe. But to write this sort of story-suite Mr. Hale should have been trained as a pulp-writer, putting aside his intellectualism, personal subtlety, and moral idealism. The author is much too good, and not good enough, to write for the pulps; he is a writer for educated adults and should resign himself to that audience.

Isolated episodes, to be sure, come through magnificently. Hannibal's great love affair is real and clear and moving—though much more so when handled as a recurrent theme through the years of adventure than under the glaring sunlight of an island of escape. And the adventures with such unforgettable characters as Pat Deasy, the treacherous Irish revolutionary, Johnny Papadakis, the Greek saloon-keeper, and Alois Kastenhuber, the stone-cutting anarchist, are excellent. But Mr. Hale in his next novel should eschew definitely the string-of-beads organization in favor of the symphonic, because that is the only way his highly humanistic sense of life can be projected into a telling whole. The reader does get, through the choppy life and conversation of the hero, a dim sense of man with his fist against the sky, but whereas he should have emerged as the immortal Faustian seeker, the modern man in search of his soul, Hannibal Hooker is always merely the central operative in a number of events, never quite emerging as character.

If Mr. Hale is right now too inspired for his skill, that is not to say that he hasn't enough to outstrip his American contemporaries. He has. His first novel must be read. And his second will be.

EUNICE CLARK

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South Carolina Town

THE WEDDING. By Grace Lumpkin. Lee Furman. $2.50.

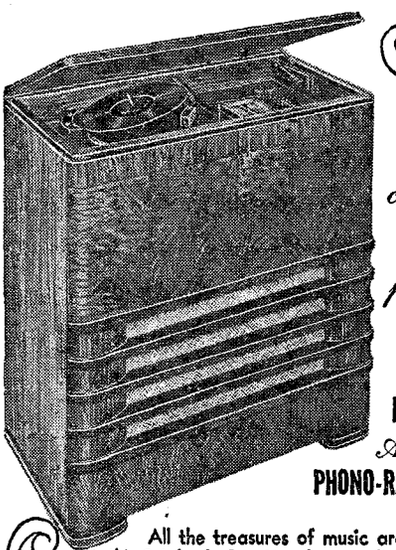
YOU won't be much worried for fear the wedding presents sent to Jennie Middleton may have to go back, because you have a feeling that she will make up her quarrel with Dr. Gregg in time. Besides, it would be no tragedy if she didn't, because—Miss Lumpkin being rather hard on her own sex in this novel—Jennie is not exactly a prize package. When she wants to be, she is very much the ingratiatingly charming Southern girl, the darling of the saber-scarred Confederate Veterans, but she also has a streak of Yankee selfishness and stubbornness that—oh well, as the Bishop in the book says, let's not stir up any more of these old sectional hatreds. The main purpose of the story is not so much to entangle you in the very tenuous web of its plot, which covers merely the twenty-four hours between the quarrel and the marriage ceremony, as to depict the complex cross-currents of life in a Southern town (called Lexington, but sounding very much like Columbia, South Carolina), poised between the old and the new. The wedding lies in the center of a mesh of wires that connect with the church, the bank, the town's traditions and economic future, even with its penitentiary and red-light district. The threatened hitch merely adds additional complications, greatly to the amusement of Dr. Gregg's small and Puckish best man. Miss Lumpkin, whose novel "To Make My Bread" was dramatized a few years ago as "Let Freedom Ring," is no stylist, but she writes with the sincerity and conviction that come from first-hand knowledge of her setting. Robert Middleton, the bride's father, is particularly well drawn: an amiable scion of an old family, endowed by nature to grace a drawing-room but doomed by circumstances to shuttle back and forth between petty cares at home and small notes at the bank. LOUIS B. SALOMON

FILMS

"CRISIS—MADE IN GERMANY" (Fifty-fifth Street Playhouse), the full-length documentary film about the developments in Czechoslovakia from last May till after Munich, is an exciting and illuminating piece of sincere work. It also poses unintentionally the whole problem of the reporting of political situations and actions by means of the movie camera. The newsreel outfits of the great companies report generally only the surface of events, unconnected bits which, if you had not read your newspaper, would be meaningless; and usually, the farther removed any given event is from politics, the more complete and truthful the picture report. Catastrophes for which God alone seems to be responsible—hurricanes and floods—can be sure of excellent handling. Reels about political actions, on the other hand, which may concern the lives of millions in all parts of the world, are composed mainly of shots of statesmen with and without umbrellas rushing to and from conferences: you see planes, cars, desks, fountain pens, smiling faces, but you must choose your own criminal. Herbert Kline, an independent young American producer, and Alexander Hackenschmiedt, an excellent Czech camera man, intended to do more. They set out to photograph whatever was to happen in Czechoslovakia, and to a certain extent also to interpret and explain it.

We see the first Czech mobilization which stopped Hitler in May; meetings in Sudetenland of fanatical Nazis and democratic anti-Nazis who hold out for their convictions against tremendous pressure from over the frontier; terrorized Jews. We see two funerals: historical and pompous rites for two dead Nazis attended by Henlein and Hitler's representatives; and seven simple coffins in which rest workers beaten to death. We see marching boots, truncheons, barricades, smashed windows. The atmosphere of a countryside under a terror springs from the screen in all its tenseness.

And there is more: the fitting of gas masks that make little children look like monsters; the faces of simple women with big honest eyes, who understand only too well what war will mean; the beautiful hills and fields; villages and towns; people at work and people at leisure, taking walks, looking at shop windows full of Nazi propaganda or of books by Freud and Thomas Mann; soldiers, tanks, cannon, fighting planes. The contrast between everyday life which is hard but sweet and the bloody future ahead is conveyed so convincingly that it chokes you. Especially touching, and full of hope for days less barbarous, is the sequence showing the work in Czech-German solidarity—the children's camp and the visit of the two eminent Czech comedians and satirical poets, Voskovec



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and Werich. (We live in fast-moving times: both are already exiles in New York.)

The end: Berchtesgaden, Godesberg, again mobilization. The producers saved seven thousand meters of film for the outbreak of the war which did not come. They show us a stream of refugees—German socialists, Jews, Czechs, stranded in no man's land. The commentator of the picture, Vincent Sheean, points to their misery: such are the consequences of Munich! But would war not have been a thousandfold more disastrous? This question and many others the picture does not answer? The Czech fascists, the fifth column in Prague of financiers and industrialists, the big landowner friends of Hitler do not appear. In short, the whole truth about what happened last year in Central Europe is not yet told even in this gallant attempt. But the feeling of what life was like in those desperate months in Czechoslovakia comes through, and that in itself is a great experience.

"Stagecoach" (United Artists) is the best Western picture in years. You get all you expect—Indians on the warpath, wild frontiersmen, corrupt bankers, noble gamblers, youthful officers, hypocrites, drunkards, heroes, innocent ladies, whores, and horses. But they have never been presented more expertly. The story moves fast, with ever-growing suspense. There are no slips into false romance. The known types almost become characters. The dialogue is to the point and as true as possible. And the beauty of plain and sky takes your breath away. The direction (John Ford) and the production (Walter Wanger) show unsurpassed craftsmanship. The picture is an unspoiled pleasure from beginning to end.

This cannot be said of Sacha Guitry's "Champs Elysées" (Tri-National Film), which nevertheless has enough of Parisian wit and irony to be amusing most of the time. Sacha Guitry plays five parts and is best as the old teacher who, on the pretext of telling the story of the famous boulevard to his ten-year-old pupil, explains many things about love.

A warning for thriller addicts: "Torchy Blaine in Chinatown" is terrible. I saw it on a rainy afternoon with an audience of poor kids—to whom such trash is sold. But even they were bored.

FRANZ HOELLERING

RECORDS

HAYDN'S Symphony No. 102, issued by Victor (three records, $6.50), is Haydn at his best—which I would not say of the Boston Symphony's recorded performance: even the Haydn vigor would sound the better for the lightness of hand with which Koussevitzky treats the Haydn playfulness. On a single record ($1.50) Bruno Walter offers a sensitive and warm performance with the London Symphony of the lovely Ballet Music Nos. 1 and 2 from Schubert's "Rosamunde"; on another Walter single Beethoven's "Coriolan" Overture loses the power it would have in a performance that was steady and controlled.

Such steadiness and control made Walter's recent Victor set of Brahms's Third Symphony the excellent thing it was; and they are to be heard again in Weingartner's performance of the work with the London Philharmonic, now issued by Columbia (four records, $6). The superiority of the new version is in recording which gives clean-cut reproduction of the sounds, as against a slight clouding of the older performance by reverberation. On the other hand there are occasions when strands of the Brahms texture are not heard in the new version that are heard in the old; and in the new one the fourth movement is recorded at a lower volume level at the end of side 6 than on sides 7 and 8.

Fauré's Requiem is the first of his works that I have found not only beautifully contrived but, in its quiet way, deeply felt. It is well recorded for Columbia by French singers and players with Commette at the organ (five records, $7.50). In a two-record set ($3.25) are four arias from operas by Lully—lovely music sung quite well by the tenor Villabella and the soprano Renaux; in another such set is French music of still another sort—the charming music of Offenbach arranged for the Ballet Russe's "Gaieté Parisienne," buoyantly played by the London Philharmonic under Kurtz; on a single ($1.50) is Beecham's superb performance of the Overture to "Oberon" with the same orchestra.

Richard Crooks's Victor record ($2) of "Il mio tesoro" from "Don Giovanni" is surprisingly bad: I was not prepared for such constricted, harsh singing from him. But Roy Harris inflating nothing into Nothing in his Chorale for String Sextet—well played by the Kreiner Sextet on another Victor single ($1.50)—is something I was fully prepared for. Hertha Glatz's record ($1.50) of Schubert's "Seligkeit" and "Wehmut" offers musically intelligent use of a voice that is a little metallic.

Technichord Records (39 Worthington Road, Brookline, Mass.) has issued an album (five records, $8) of Bach's organ music played by E. Power Biggs on the Baroque Organ in the Germanic Museum at Harvard University, which was built for performance of such music in accordance with the principles of organ design of Bach's period. The volume offers several fine works: the Concerto in A minor after Vivaldi, the Chorale-Prelude "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme," the Prelude and Fugue in E flat known to many in the Busoni arrangement for piano recorded by Fischer; and on the fifth record is the Trio Sonata No. 1, which I find less interesting. The sound of the instrument is recorded with beautiful fidelity, but there are places where the texture is not clear: after the first *b* flat of the E flat Prelude, for example, one cannot hear the *a* flat, *g*, and *f* that lead to the *e* flat. The Prelude suffers a great deal from this sort of thing; and it would gain from something more imposing than Mr. Biggs's simple, direct treatment of the various works.

I have had much pleasure from the Victor album (six records, $9) of Jerome Kern's show music sung and played in the style in which one hears such music sung and played in the theater.

B. H. HAGGIN

In Coming Issues

A Review of Hitler's "Mein Kampf"

BY FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

The Fetishism of Power

BY SIDNEY HOOK

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Letters to the Editors

Job-Insurance Amendments

Dear Sirs: An editorial, Job Insurance in Peril, in your issue of January 28, contains several misconceptions. The proposed amendments to the New York law are an attempt to correct the conditions which you describe so mildly in your first paragraph; these conditions are the real peril to job insurance. Our objectives may be summarized as understanding of his benefit rights on the part of the employee; equitable distribution of the funds between regular industrial workers and the casual, seasonal, and part-time workers; maintenance of actual living standards; simplicity of procedure so that benefits will be paid accurately and promptly; reduction of unnecessary administrative cost and delays.

The proposals offer uniform duration of benefits of sixteen weeks to all eligibles, instead of the present additional limitation, based on one-sixth of earnings, which terminates benefits short of sixteen weeks for 75 per cent of the claimants. Estimates made with the cooperation of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance show that the proposals will reduce the payments to those who have little unemployment in the benefit year, but will increase the payments to those who remain unemployed for a long time.

The annual-wage proposal allows benefits equal to 50 per cent of the weekly full-time wage for employees who have worked (in typical wage ranges) forty weeks or more in the base year; more than 50 per cent of the full-time wage is allowed to those who have worked regularly in the base year and are unexpectedly unemployed in the following year.

The proposals offer definite liberalization by the inclusion of benefits for partial unemployment, which is not now protected by the New York law.

Employee contributions at a fraction of the employer's rate will go far toward preservation of the employee's self-respect, as will the continuance of unemployment benefits as a matter of earned right, not to be confused with various forms of dole or relief.

The stamp-book system proposed in the editorial does not answer all the problems of enforcement and simplification with equity; it raises a whole series of new questions. Nevertheless, it may be desirable for certain types of employment, particularly if coverage is extended to smaller employers and farm labor.

There has been no quiet threat or surreptitious attack in the launching of these proposals; a draft was presented to the New York State Advisory Council in September, with specific authority to broadcast as widely as the council desired. Early in October the proposals were discussed with the Social Security Board in an all-day session. Late in October copies were sent to each of the representatives of the Unemployment Division from every state who attended the board's Interstate Conference. This is important, because of the board's failure to take decisive action, as pointed out by your editorial. Wherever organized labor has carefully studied the proposals, and discussed them with the designers, labor has found much unexpected merit in them.

F. B. CLIFFE,
Assistant Comptroller,
General Electric Company
Schenectady, N. Y., February 20.

[*The Nation* readily admits that New York's unemployment-insurance law stands in serious need of revision, and that Mr. Cliffe's proposal for a uniform sixteen-week duration of benefits is a desirable change. His proposal that the "annual wage" be substituted for the "full-time weekly wage" as a basis for determining the benefit rate, on the other hand, involves a departure from the basic principle of American unemployment-insurance legislation: compensation for unemployment at a rate commensurate to the loss suffered. When a worker is unemployed, he does not lose an income equal to his average week's earnings but his full week's wages. The use of the average wage imposes a definite penalty on the most insecure worker because of his insecurity. The effect would be most disastrous in a depression since benefit rates would decline more rapidly than full-time weekly wages. Thus the unemployment-insurance system would fail to maintain purchasing power at the time when it was most needed.

Mr. Cliffe slides over the most reactionary of his proposals by saying that employee contributions "will go far toward the preservation of the employee's self-respect." The fact remains, however, that the tangible effect would be to place an increased share of the burden of unemployment on the group that now carries most of the burden—the workers—rather than on business and society as a whole, where it rightfully belongs.

As to the attitude of labor, since our editorial appeared we have been assured by numerous labor groups that they recognize the dangers inherent in the Cliffe proposals and are actively opposing them.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

"When Germany Awakes—"

Dear Sirs: During the very week when the German-American Bund held its meeting at Madison Square Garden, a once well-known German novel, forgotten by the present generation, happened to fall into my hands. It contains a memorable political confession — or should I say a prophecy?—made by a German-American a hundred years ago.

The novel first appeared in 1855, causing a great sensation. Its title was "Der Amerikamüde ("The Man Who Grew Tired of America"), and subsequently the phrase gained wide popularity in Germany. The author was the Vienna journalist Ferdinand Kürnberger, who had achieved considerable reputation as an incisive political analyst and was regarded as a successor to Ludwig Börne, the great democrat.

Kürnberger describes the disappointments of a German immigrant who seeks to establish an ideal farm settlement of his countrymen in America and sees his enterprise suffer shipwreck. This disillusioned idealist was modeled after the poet Nikolaus Lenau, who actually spent a few years in the United States. The hero turns out to be somewhat prematurely "tired of America," in fact, from the first page on. The novel, moreover, abounds in unfairnesses to the American people and in misrepresentations of Americanism, faults which were sharply criticized by contemporary reviewers and which doomed the work to oblivion, despite its literary qualities. One passage, however, remains of great interest. In fact, it seems more timely today than ever. The hero works himself up to the following climax in a speech delivered at a German meeting:

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When I look into America's future
our own German greatness. For this
in my heart: America will not perish until Germany has completed her revolutions, beyond which lie unity and freedom. Until then, I can wait. The spark of German spirit that I shall hand on to my heirs will stay alive. Have not the German farmers of Pennsylvania instinctively known how to hold fast to their German ways for one hundred years? So fast that whole communities understood not a single word of English today. . . . The fall which I see facing this mongrel people concerns me no more than the fate of the goat that suckled Jupiter. Let it come—we shall not perish. Germany will send her fleet and know how to defend her German province Pennsylvania. What am I saying? Pennsylvania? All of North America will become German, for our immigration will then rest upon a mighty motherland. But why merely North America? The whole world will become German, for Germany's rise will mean England's decline. When Germany awakes, no nation in the world will maintain its old rank.

From the distant past we seem to hear the voice of an orator in Madison Square Garden, his mask of "honest Americanism" lifted for an instant. Even Adolf Hitler and Fritz Kuhn could hardly have formulated it any better than this German author of the fifties. And this German vision coincides remarkably with the conception of the role of Germans in the United States current in Berlin today. Yet Kürnberger was really a progressive and democratically minded (which throws a good deal of light, by the way, on the asumption that there are "two kinds of Germans").

Ferdinand Kürnberger never visited the United States. This spiritual anticipator of Hitler and the Bund, who sat in such stern judgment on America, never set foot on American soil. His vision of German-Americans and their future role was from across the sea. In view of Nazi world policy this may be the most significant point. ANTON KUH

New York, March 2

"Dear Junior"

Dear Sirs: I have sent the following letter to Frank Hague, Jr.:

Dear Junior: So soon you will become a Judge of the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals. Here, indeed, is a milestone in the history of New Jersey jurisprudence. I realize how pleased your daddy must be with this appointment and I hope he will find time to come up from Miami to be present at your induction.

too have a junior, aged seven, who you is eminently qualified to don the Jersey ermine, and I trust that you will put in a good word for him with our distinguished governor in order that *his* daddy may also be pleased.

I am now preparing a biographical sketch to be entitled "All That He Is Today He Owes to His Father, and What Governor Moore Owed His Father Nobody Knows," and in this connection it may be necessary to call upon you for further details as to the acquisition of that degree tendered you by the renowned Southern college whose name both you and I have unfortunately forgotten. At all events at the outset of what assuredly will be the growth of the fairest judicial rose in the "Garden State," will you accept the hearty congratulations of a layman who looks forward to years of many errors but few appeals?

I am about to make a tour of New Jersey under the auspices of the Workers' Defense League to present to the youth of the state the inspiring details of your rapid rise to juridicial honors. It will be an inspiration to our youth to think how well you conned your Blackstone before the burning logs in the remote Deal cabin of your distinguished father, or how in the boulevard apartment you nightly had by heart the dissents of Justices Holmes, Brandeis, and Cardozo. Youth must be served, and the fact that you flunked at Princeton in your sophomore year need cause you no qualms. I see that another princely heir, Prince Fumitaka Konoye, son of the former Japanese Premier, Prince Fumimaro Konoye, who was busted out of Princeton altogether, is now dean of the Japanese-sponsored Tungwen College in Shanghai.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Radburn, N. J., March 3

One-Act Play Contest

Dear Sirs: The American Civil Liberties Union, through the medium of the *One-Act Play Magazine*, announces a contest for one-act plays. Plays submitted must deal with some aspect of civil liberties in the United States or its colonial possessions and must not be longer than one hour of playing time or shorter than twenty minutes. A first prize of $75 and a second of $25 will be given. The judges will be Brooks Atkinson, Sidney Howard, William Kozlenko, Archibald MacLeish, and Elmer Rice. The contest closes April 30.

Manuscripts should be sent to the American Civil Liberties Union Play Contest, care the *One-Act Play Magazine*, 112 West Forty-second Street, New York.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

New York, February 20

Doctors in Germany

Dear Sirs: Under the heading "Doctors Needed in Germany," the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* of January 16, 1939, says: "Panel and insurance-practice patients are treated badly as there is a great need for doctors after the purge of Jewish and half-Jewish doctors. In private practice the fees are very often two or three times what they have been; so that also private patients are in a bad situation."

These lines show that not even fascism with its hard methods of education is able to change human nature.

R. KUHN

New York, March 6

CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH G. CRAWFORD is the Washington correspondent of the New York *Post*.

G. A. BORGESE is the author of "Goliath: The March of Fascism."

DAVID MARTIN frequently contributes articles on Canadian matters to American publications.

RAYMOND L. WISE is a New York lawyer and a director of the American Civil Liberties Union. He has been special assistant to the United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York—Bureau of Securities.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT has for many years been professor of English at the University of Chicago. He is an editor of the *New Republic*.

ERIKA MANN is the daughter of Thomas Mann and author of "School for Barbarians."

MAXWELL GEISMAR is a member of the English Department at Sarah Lawrence College.

EUNICE CLARK is one of the poets whose work appears in the Modern Library's anthology of modern poetry.

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